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JPRS-KAR-87-021

2 APRIL 1987

# Korean Affairs Report

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## INTER-KOREAN AFFAIRS

### FOREIGN MEDIA CRITICISM OF JOINT MILITARY EXERCISES

#### 'Team Spirit' Denounced

SK070456 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0441 GMT 7 Mar 87

[Text] Pyongyang 6 March (KCNA)--Foreign media published articles denouncing the "Team Spirit 87" joint military exercises of the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppet clique.

SHAKAI SHIMPO, organ of the Japan Socialist Party, in an editorial titled "The United States and South Korea Must Put an End to Military Exercises" says; the move for the Japan-U.S.-South Korea military integration should be pointed to in connection with the "Team Spirit" exercises. This has caused the military tension in East Asia and lays an obstacle in the way of dialogue between the North and the South of Korea.

The Ugandan paper focus stresses: The military exercises are an open violation of the Korean armistice agreement and in unpardonable criminal act gravely disturbing peace and leading the situation to the brink of war in Korea.

All the proposals advanced by the DPRK for achieving peace in Korea and her peaceful reunification including the proposals for tripartite talks and north-south high-level political and military talks have not been realized due to the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppet clique.

The Danish paper LAND OG FOLK notes that the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppet clique have expanded in scope the "Team Spirit" joint military exercises year after year and brands the exercises as an aggressive war rehearsal for mounting a forestalling attack on the DPRK.

The Syrian newspapers al-Ba'th and al-Thawrah and the Syrian broadcasting service, the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA, the Guyanese newspaper CHRONICLE, the U.S. newspaper WORKERS WORLD, the Anta News Agency and Radio of Madagascar also exposed the aggressive aim of the joint military exercises and demanded an end to them.

The France-Korea Friendship Association sent a letter to the U.S. president and members of different public organisations in Okinawa Prefecture, Japan, held a meeting in front of the U.S. Kadena Air Base in denunciation of the exercises.

### Denmark Communists

SK070537 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0516 GMT 7 Mar 87

[Text] Pyongyang 7 March (KCNA)--A letter came to the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark in denunciation of the "Team Spirit-87" joint military exercises of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges and in support of the DPRK's proposal for North-South talks.

The letter dated 2 March expresses firm solidarity for the international struggle against the "Team Spirit" military manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppets. It says:

In a joint statement published with other political forces we opposed and protested such manoeuvres of the enemy hastening war preparations and threatening security of the Korean peninsula.

We assure you that we fully support the constructive proposal for talks advanced by your party under the leadership of Comrade Kim Il-song with regard to the political and military problems between the North and the South.

### Cuban Ministry

SK090519 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0510 GMT 7 Mar 87

[Text] Havana 7 March (KCNA)--The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cuba made public a statement in denunciation of the "Team Spirit 87" joint military exercises of the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppet clique, according to the Cuban paper GRANMA 7 March. The statement says:

Toward the close of last year, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea proposed to the South Korean authorities to hold North-South high-level political and military talks in order to remove through dialogue the tension created between the North and the South.

But, the Reagan administration and Seoul authorities, far from directing due attention to the sincere efforts of the DPRK, disregarded this proposal and decided to stage the aggressive and provocative joint military exercises against the democratic aspiration of the broad popular masses of South Korea and the socialist construction in the northern half.

Cuba merges her strong voices with the world public opinion denouncing the "Team Spirit 87" military manoeuvres, hails the DPRK's sincere efforts to solve the Korean problem peacefully and supports the proposal for North-South high-level political and military talks.

Cuba appeals to all people and the peace-loving governments of the world to persistently demand the United States and the South Korean "regime" to stop at once the military rehearsal, the root cause of tension and political and military confrontation in Korea.

/12232

CSO: 4100/135

## INTER-KOREAN AFFAIRS

### CPRF DENOUNCES DEATH OF SOUTH KOREAN PRIVATE

SK080818 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0812 GMT 8 Mar 87

[Text] Pyongyang 8 March (KCNA)--The secretariat of the Committee for Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland in its information No 380 on 7 March points out that brutes of the U.S. imperialists aggression troops murdered Kim Yong-kon, a private of the South Korean puppet army belonging to their unit, by strangling him with an electric wire on 20 February. This is a deliberate murder by the U.S. cannibals who commit murder just for the fun of it, said the information.

Noting that from the first days of their occupation of South Korea the U.S. imperialist aggressors have committed innumerable beastly atrocities such as firing, beating, burning and stabbing defenceless people to death at random, the information stressed:

They should apologize to our nation for their criminal acts and immediately withdraw from South Korea, taking along their aggression troops and nuclear and all other lethal weapons.

The Chon Tu-hwan group should promptly stop its brutal suppression of those who exposed the beastly torture murder by the U.S. imperialist aggressors and step down from "power" without delay as demanded by the people.

/12232

CSO: 4100/135



## INTER-KOREAN AFFAIRS

### DPRK PAPERS DENOUNCE DJP CHAIRMAN FOR SLANDER

SK080827 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0815 GMT 8 Mar 87

[Text] Pyongyang 8 March (KCNA)--NODONG SINMUN and MINJU CHOSON 8 March denounce representative member of the "Democratic Justice Party" in South Korea No Tae-u for maliciously slandering us and inciting anti-communism and confrontation.

Referring to the fact that at a "round-table conversation" on the "present state of North-South relations" with "members of the Advisory Committee for Peaceful Unification Policy" and "experts in North-South relations," No Tae-u gibbered that someone turns his face from "dialogue and negotiation" and schemes for "violent provocation" and "social confusion," a signed commentary of NODONG SINMUN says:

His outbursts are a trick and deception aimed to block the great influence of the DPRK's proposal for North-South high-level political and military talks and her sincere efforts for its realisation upon the South Korean people and the world's peoples and at the same time, to save themselves from a crisis in which his group has landed itself by turning aside from the DPRK's proposal for talks. His gibberish is also a dastardly ruse to justify the criminal powder-reeking military exercises his group is holding with the U.S. imperialists, averting their eyes from the proposals of the fellow countrymen for peace talks.

He prattled that unification would be possible only when an "absolute predominance of strength" was ensured. His remarks are a rehash of the theory of "unification by destroying communism" and "unification by prevailing over communism" aimed to build "strength" to do something against someone.

There is no need to achieve the "predominance of strength" in attaining a peaceful reunification through dialogue and negotiations. The theory of "predominance of strength" goes against dialogue and seeks war against the north.

Those who have a black-hearted intention to provoke, together with the U.S. imperialist aggressors, a war of aggression against the fellow countrymen, try to wear the viil of "dialogue and unification," crying about "provocations of someone." This is a biggest imposture.

In maliciously kicking up the anti-communist confrontation and war racket, the Chon Tu-hwan group seeks to crack down upon the people and dissidents under the pretext of "pro-communism and pro-North" and thus realise its wild ambition to grab power again.

/12232

CSO: 4100/135

## INTER-KOREAN AFFAIRS

### DPRK DAILY CONDEMNS SOUTH'S 'KOWTOWING' TO 'MASTER'

SK060538 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0526 GMT 6 Mar 87

[Text] Pyongyang, 6 March (KCNA)--MINJU CHOSON today condemns the Chon Tu-hwan puppet clique for disgracefully kowtowing to its master, U.S. imperialists, revealing its treacherous nature.

In a signed commentary the paper says:

The Chon Tu-hwan clique "agreed" to use dogs to detect explosives for security during the Seoul tour of its masters the U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs and the U.S. secretary of state.

This is a despicable belly-crawling which reveals the nature of the shameless flunkeyist traitors who cannot subsist even a single day without the patronage of thier master U.S. imperialists.

Their treacherous color was also disclosed by the puppet minister of national defence when he met the U.S. chief for training program on 4 March and begged for the continued support of the United States to the "security" of South Korea, jabbering that there is much possibility of someone's "provocation" to obstruct the olympics.

Talk about "provocation" by somebody on the occasion of the olympics is a preposterous lie which those who find themselves in a tight corner, isolated and foresaken within and without, have invented to mislead the public and bridge over the crisis of "power."

Making much ado about the possibility of someone's "provocation," the Chon Tu-hwan clique tries to get more assistance and support from the U.S. imperialists to put down the anti-U.S., anti-"government" action of the people and realise its reassumption of office.

It is precisely in prusance of this purpose that the puppets are these days more disgracefully begging for continued support of the United States to the "security" of South Korea, fawning on their master U.S. imperialists.

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CSO: 4100/135

## INTER-KOREAN AFFAIRS

### VNS DENOUNCES OPPOSITION FIGURES FAVORING CABINET SYSTEM

SK160651 (Clandestine) Voice of National Salvation in Korean to South Korea  
0300 GMT 14 Mar 87

[Station commentary]

[Text] As voices that oppose and rejects the plan to revise the Constitution that favors the parliamentary cabinet system have been enhanced among the masses from all walks of life, some opposition figures have made undesirable remarks and behaved in ways that run counter to such voices, thus causing the people's derision.

Pointing out that they believe the parliamentary cabinet system to be a step toward overcoming the national crisis and making the national opinion more harmonious, they have stated their support for this system and [word indistinct].

During a press conference in January of last year, they proposed that a pan-national system, including both ruling and opposition parties, should be formed and operated by 1988 and that this pan-national system should conduct the National Assembly election in 1988 and work out plans to revise the Constitution and the election laws, including those concerning the election of the president and the (?speaker) of the National Assembly. For this purpose a special committee on constitutional revision should be formed in the National Assembly to review and discuss such plans.

Since an absolute majority of the people oppose and denounce the parliamentary cabinet system, branding it a constitutional revision plan designed for a one-man dictatorship and to grasp permanent power, some leading figures in opposition circles have made absurd remarks. We cannot but say that such remarks are not reasonable.

Needless to say, even if some opposition figures insist on the parliamentary cabinet system, their call cannot be the official program of the entire opposition party. However, like the proverb that says a single loach can spoil the entire lake, as long as their remarks are related to (?national affairs), we cannot but criticize them because such is the act of pouring cold water on the people's aspirations.

In actuality, some social circles have raised voices to note that the remarks of some opposition figures are agreeable to the views of the government and the ruling camp, urging them to identify first whether they are from the ruling circles or from the opposition party.

Frankly speaking, not a small number of people think that such opposition figures must be sakura [spies] within the NKDP.

Now, what is the plan to revise the constitution that favors the parliamentary cabinet system called for by some opposition figures? The parliamentary cabinet system advanced by the DJP is, in other words, designed to prolong the DJP dictatorship and to ensure Chon Tu-hwan's long-term power.

By this plan, the DJP has concentrated all power, including the right for emergency measures, the right to nominate cabinet members, and the right to forward bills, upon the prime minister. Controlling the prime minister would be an advisory organization to be newly organized, its chairman being the former president. This enables Chon Tu-hwan to hold the post of advisor to the prime minister even in the worst case of his losing the presidency and to continuously exercise power.

Thus, the Japanese magazine, SEKAI, wrote that the parliamentary cabinet system the DJP hooligans are maneuvering to achieve is a plot for long-term power and that there is the possibility that a more vicious military fascist regime than the present one can be fabricated.

Not only our people, but also figures from opposition circles, unanimously support the plan to revise the Constitution that favors a direct presidential election system instead of the parliamentary cabinet system. However, those who claim themselves to be clean opposition figures are dancing to tunes played by the government and ruling party, betraying the people, and have made the same remarks as theirs. This is indeed a filthy act.

We can hardly consider such remarks as being made by genuine opposition figures, but by the agents fixed within the opposition party. Thus, the students recently warned about the appeasement policy of the government and the ruling party toward the NKDP and about the strange moves within the NKDP. Their actions and warning are just.

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CSO: 4110/096

INTER-KOREAN AFFAIRS

VNS ON CONSTRUCTION OF COUNTER-DAM IN SOUTH

SK090653 (Clandestine) Voice of National Salvation in Korean to South Korea  
0300 GMT 7 Mar 87

[Dialogue between unidentified announcer and Madame Yun Chong-won from the feature program "Focus on Topics"]

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] Would you explain the groundbreaking ceremony for construction of a peace dam.

[Yun Chong-won] After dragging in many residents on 28 February, the Chon Tu-hwan clique held a groundbreaking ceremony for construction of a peace dam at a spot along the upper stream of the North Han River in Hwachon County, Kangwon Province. The construction of this peace dam will be carried out [passage indistinct] have been eager to justify the construction of a counter dam on the grounds that when [passage indistinct] collapses or is deliberately destroyed, the 15 million people in the metropolitan area will lose their homes.

[Unidentified announcer] This is a filthy anticommunist act that could only be committed by heinous anticommunist maniacs. When it was disclosed that advertisement of the theory of southward invasion supported by the anti-communist national policy is a sheer lie, those concerned began trying to threaten our people with the preposterous theory of southward invasion by babbling about offensive flooding operations by finding fault with North Korea's peaceful construction of a power station. This is very absurd and outrageous.

[Yun] As is already known, the construction of the Kumgangsan power station being undertaken in North Korea is a peaceful construction project that has nothing to do with a military aim, but is being carried out according to a plan to develop the national territory. North Korea has repeatedly made it clear that this construction project does not pose a threat to the people. Nevertheless, the ruling authorities [passage indistinct] in case of the collapse or deliberate destruction of the Kumgangsan dam. This is not possible. If the people worry about the collapse of the Kumgangsan dam, they should also worry about the collapse of the Hwachon, Uiam, Chunchon, Chongpyong, and Paldang dams along the Han River. No one will be convinced by the incoherent theory of the collapse of the Kumgangsan dam. The deliberate destruction

of the Kumgangsan dam is inconceivable. Because they harbor wicked, hidden intentions, those concerned believe that others harbor such wicked intentions. It is inconceivable that North Korea, which pursues politics that value people as its national policy, would build the Kumgangsan dam to flood fellow countrymen, who share the same blood lineage. As is known, since the 15 August liberation, North Korea has extended the hands of aid materially and spiritually, proceeding from love for fellow countrymen every time our people have experienced suffering.

[Announcer] That is right. When our people sustained flood damage in 1984, Chon Tu-hwan visited Japan without taking relief measures. We have not forgotten that North Korea sent us great quantities of relief goods, including 50,000 soks of rice and 100,000 tons of cement. Such being the case, we cannot conceive of offensive flooding operations.

[Yun] That is right. When the Chon Tu-hwan clique kicked up an anti-communist commotion, boisterously and preposterously babbling about offensive flooding operations in connection with North Korea's construction of the Kumgangsan power station, our college students condemned and denounced it as a criminal attempt to misuse fellow countrymen's development of national territory for anticommunist psychological warfare. Various social circles have strongly opposed and rejected the authorities' campaign to collect donations for the construction of a counter dam, exposing the hidden intention of the campaign.

[Announcer] The false nature of the Chon Tu-hwan clique's theory of 20 billion-ton offensive flooding operations has been exposed.

[Yun] Yes. While clamorously babbling about 20 billion-ton offensive flooding operations and while saying that if the Kumgangsan dam collapses, a 100-meter-high wave will swoop down on us, the Chon Tu-hwan clique [passage indistinct]. The international community and our own people know that this is not because of any threat, but because of the crisis of the Chon Tu-hwan regime.

Japan's NHK stated that the South Korean authorities' campaign against the Kumgangsan dam has been carried out at the same level as the campaign to exterminate ideologies that tolerate communists and left-leaning ideologies and that the former campaign is designed to rally and unite the people and strengthen control over domestic affairs.

While carrying out the campaign to collect donations for the construction of a counter-dam, Chon Tu-hwan stated that he would develop this campaign into a pan-national movement to develop the anticommunist spirit and unity of all the people. This shows the aim of the wicked campaign against the Kumgangsan dam.

[Announcer] What is the purpose of the Chon Tu-hwan ring's holding a government-patronized function called a groundbreaking ceremony for construction of a peace dam under the pretext of offensive flooding operations, which are known to be fictitious?

[Yun] This is related to the fact that the pro-U.S. and dictatorial Chon Tu-hwan regime faces a serious ruling crisis. [passage indistinct] See that South Korea will become a second Philippines and that Chon Tu-hwan will soon meet a miserable fate like Marcos. As a result, the United States and the Chon Tu-hwan clique have invented, as a last resort, the campaign against the Kungangsan dam and the theory of offensive flooding operations. Having failed to deceive our people with the theory of southward invasion, they are trying to divert public sentiment, which has been attracted toward North Korea, to anticommunist confrontation by striking terror in the people's hearts with the fictitious theory of offensive flooding operations. They are also trying to overcome the ruling crisis by suppressing our people's anti-U.S. and antidictatorial fighting spirit, which has further spread and increased with the passage of time. They are trying to avoid the people's by making the anticommunist farce, which has been exposed by the act of holding a groundbreaking ceremony following the campaign to collect donations for construction of a counter-dam, look plausible. They are trying to raise war funds and funds for fascist rule under the pretext of collecting donations for construction of a counter-dam.

[Announcer] This is a farce of war by [passage indistinct]. If Chon Tu-hwan builds a counter-dam despite the people's opposition and rejection, great quantities of materials, funds, and labor throughout the country will be squandered under the pretext of preventing the threat of southward invasion. Like a concrete barrier along the truce line, this will remain a historic sign that attests to the Chon Tu-hwan clique's treacherous acts.

[Yun] Chon Tu-hwan has babbled about North Korea's act of hindering the Olympics. This is nonsense. The party that has cast a dark shadow over the Olympics is none other than the Chon Tu-hwan clique. War exercises and provocative maneuvers in South Korea, the brutal suppression of patriotic people, the barbarous and murderous acts of torture, and the political chaos and instability caused by the Chon Tu-hwan clique's maneuvers for long term office truly pose a threat to the Olympics. Nevertheless, the Chon Tu-hwan clique is hellbent on promoting the consciousness of anticommunist confrontation by holding a groundbreaking ceremony for construction of a peace dam. This is an unpardonable crime. This is also a wicked challenge to our people's ardent desires to achieve independence, democracy, and reunification.

[Announcer] Having listened to you, I have come to understand that the Chon Tu-hwan clique's attempt to build a peace dam is a treacherous crime--an attempt to avoid a ruling crisis by promoting the consciousness of anticommunist confrontation. Our people will never tolerate the Chon Tu-hwan clique's criminal anticommunist attitude. The Chon Tu-hwan clique should abandon the foolish desire to avoid a ruling crisis and fulfill its sordid plot to prolong its term in office by stepping up maneuvers for anticommunist confrontation, should immediately stop construction of a counter-dam according to the demands of our people, and should step down from power. I would like to conclude our conversation. Thank you very much.

/9716

CSO: 4110/096

## INTER-KOREAN AFFAIRS

### REPORTAGE, REACTION TO STUDENT UNREST, HUMAN RIGHTS

#### Student Group Issues Manifesto

SK120208 (Clandestine) Voice of National Salvation in Korean to South Korea  
0300 GMT 7 Mar 87

[Apparent text of the Manifesto entitled "Assembly fully under the banner of the National League of Patriotic Students' Struggle to Oppose Foreign Forces and Dictatorship" issued on the occasion of the inauguration of the aforementioned League]

[Text] This land is buried in the colonial rule of the U.S. imperialists and the oppression and exploitation of the Chon Tu-hwan ring, their stooge. However, patriotic students have devoted themselves as the brilliant flame of national liberation after firmly standing in this land. The U.S. imperialists and their stooges have oppressed and exploited our fatherland and our nation for more than 40 years.

The colonial rule of the U.S. imperialists and their stooge continues even today in such aspects as "Turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear military base that threatens the existence of 60,000,000 from among our masses", "Division and fixation which have separated our beautiful fatherland and our sacred nation", "Reorganization and stabilization of the fascist system designed to firmly rule South Korea, a colony", and "Frantic economic infiltration which has made our masses gasp under the weight." By this view, unless our nation and our masses rise and stand up, colonial rule will continue forever. For this reason, our patriotic students have formed the National League of Patriotic Students' Struggle to Oppose Foreign Forces and Dictatorship as a vanguard unit of struggle to smash colonial rule by the U.S. imperialists and their stooge and to liberate our nation.

The National League of Patriotic Students' Struggle to Oppose Foreign Forces and Dictatorship, formed according to this demand of the history and the nation, clarifies the following struggle goals:

1. We are to achieve national independence and establish a democratic regime for the masses by crushing the colonial rule by the U.S. imperialists and overthrowing the Chon Tu-hwan military dictatorship, their stooge.



2. We are to smash the invasion by the imperialists, including the United States and Japan, and achieve the independence of the masses.
3. We are to achieve democracy in society after opposing the dictatorial politics by the Chon Tu-hwan ring.
4. We are to achieve the fatherland's reunification, a desire of the Korean nation, by abolishing the divisive structure of the Korean peninsula.
5. We are to protect the rights and interests of our students, achieve independence and democracy in education, and obtain a progressive educational system.
6. We are to actively participate in the struggle to obtain the democratic rights of the masses of 40,000,000.
7. We are to broadly unite with the current national and democratic forces and share their struggle.
8. We are to smash all the bellicose invasions of the imperialists after defending world peace.

Patriotic students. Let us keep vigorously fighting until we obtain our goal by uniting under the National League of Patriotic Students' Struggle to Oppose Foreign Forces and Dictatorship.

Our National League of Patriotic Students' Struggle to Oppose Foreign Forces and the Dictatorship secondly declares that we will overcome the mistakes made by our struggle organizations in the past.

In 1985, Sammintu, under the National Federation of Students, unilaterally forced 1,000,000 students to follow it, thus it became isolated. As a result, it has not played its role as a representative organ which should live together with all 1,000,000 students.

In early 1986, the National Democratic Federation of Students also collapsed due to the enemy's suppression after being isolated because of its persistence on adhering only to irrational and violent skills and because it gave priority to some minority universities, although it contributed somewhat to embossing the ideological and [passage indistinct] characteristics of our patriotic students.

Our National League of Patriotic Students' Struggle to Oppose Foreign Forces and Dictatorship presents the following principles to thoroughly overcome the mistakes made in the past and to keep fighting with all 1,000,000 students throughout the country with priority to the broad majority of universities by loftily implementing the historic task assigned to students in Korea, a colony:

1. Our National League of Patriotic Students' Struggle to Oppose Foreign Forces and Dictatorship is an organization that belongs not to some minority of students, but to all the patriotic students who love the country and the nation. Therefore, the leaders of this organization consist of representatives elected by agreement in a democratic procedure.

2. We are to thoroughly abide by the general principle of the democratic centralization system.

3. We are to achieve firm ideological consolidation through open discussion when different people have different opinions.

4. We are to abide by the principle of united action and daringly remove factors established without unity according to this principle.

5. We are to scrape out the attitude of bringing about dissolution assumed under the pretext of this trifling difference.

Based on the aforementioned principles, our National League of Patriotic Students' Struggle to Oppose Foreign Forces and Dictatorship will grow as a strong and broad organization.

At the same time, to achieve this goal, we again urge some students to unite-- students who do not participate in our united organization under the pretext of slight differences in opinion.

Patriotic students under a dark colonial rule: Let all of us unite as one with passion for national salvation. When we have different opinions on different things, let all of us obliterate this difference by coming together and talking about this difference with one another. Moreover, we hope that you will join the struggle ranks with those students who want to jointly participate on this occasion, but who cannot do so.

At last, the time for the patriotic sentiment of our students to be displayed to the entire world has come. We have much persistent vitality.

Let all of us vigorously march [passage indistinct] under the banner of the National League of Patriotic Students' Struggle to Oppose Foreign Forces and Dictatorship.

Let us advance by raising high the banner of victory after uniting as one until we can cheerfully perform a liberation dance of national unity from Halla to Paektu with azaleas on our heads.

[Signed] The Struggle Committee for National Democracy against U.S. Imperialism and the Military Fascist [Minmintu] of Methodist Theological School; Minmintu of Kyonghui University; Minmintu of Korea University; The Struggle Committee for Anti-American Independence and Antifascist Democracy [Chamintu] of Togsong Women's University; Chamintu of Seoul National University; Minmintu of Sogang University; Minmintu of Seoul National Teachers' College; Minmintu of Yonsei University; Minmintu of Korean

University of Foreign Studies; Chamintu of Presbyterian Theological School; Minmintu of Sukmyong Women's University; Minmintu of Hanyang University; Minmintu of Konguk University; The Struggle Committee for Anti-American Independence and Mass Democracy of Kyonggi University; Minmintu of Tanguk University; Chamintu of Pusan University; Chamintu of Suwon Campus of Seoul National University, Seoul National University, Korean University of Foreign Studies, and Songsin Women's University; The Struggle Committee for Abolishing the Special Committee for Constitutional Revision at the National Assembly of Songsin Women's University; Minmintu of Ehwa Women's University; Minmintu of Incheon University; Minmintu of Chungang University; Minmintu of Korean Theological School.

#### Crime-Prevention Plan in South Criticized

SK140347 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2153 GMT 13 Mar 87

[NODONG SINMUN 14 Mar commentary: "The Catching of Burglars by Murderous Brigands"]

[Text] The puppet National Police Headquarters announced that this year, it will mobilize police forces to the utmost to wipe out crime. The puppets announced that they would do so under the plausible slogans of preventing residents from suffering killings, burglary, theft, and violence against women. However, who among the South Korean residents believe such cunning remarks, like wolves pledging to protect sheep?

Traitor Chon Tu-hwan, who holds the post of the presidencys, the Chongwadae clansmen who live under him, and the puppet police who are said to be mobilized to wipe out crime, are all alike--murderous brigands and thieves who hold official posts and sexual deviants. Because of them, very many people have shed blood, have been robbed of their property, and have had their livelihood trod underfoot. Since the greater Kwangju massacre, which traitor Chon Tu-hwan committed by mobilizing the puppet forces and police, the brutal murder of hangmen has not stopped for even a moment. Torture murder has continued in the prisons, patriotic students who have cried for independence and democracy on campuses have collapsed after being struck by police clubs, and workers who have demanded food and freedom have shed blood.

The amount of money the puppet traitor illicitly collected by mobilizing his relatives and clansmen is incalculable. Irregularities in protection by authoritative power have continued.

The puppets have openly encouraged sexual torture and prostitution tourism. Because of this, numerous women have been tyoed with and even killed for no justifiable reason. This is what the South Korean situation is all about.

Even though since he took power traitor Chon Tu-hwan has always stated that he would wipe out crime, crime has flourished, larger-scale crimes have taken place, and the people have experienced more awful suffering and misfortune over the passage of time. Under such circumstances, whose crimes must be prevented and who must first be beaten to their knees in South Korea?

It is the Chon Tu-hwan ring--a group of great authorized murderous brigands, bandit leaders, and ringleaders of sexual violence--that must first be shackled and put on trial. The Chongwadae is a criminal den that must first be destroyed. This is why the South Korean people are raising their voices of indignation against traitor Chon Tu-hwan's politics of killing and his rule of torture.

Closing its eyes to its own crimes, the Chon Tu-hwan ring cunningly says something is wrong with others. This is designed to curry favor with the people by playing another political game and to closely watch and suppress the people--who risen in the anti-U.S. and antidictatorial struggle--by mobilizing all police forces under the slogan of wiping out crime. If killings and other crimes are to be prevented, Chongwadae must first be targeted and traitor Chon Tu-hwan, the ringleader of all crime, must be beheaded [Chon Tu-hwan Yoktoui Mokputo Ttayahanda]. This is the true way to wipe out crime, as the people demand.

#### Sentencing of Dissidents Scored

SK160545 (Clandestine) Voice of National Salvation in Korean to South Korea  
1000 GMT 14 Mar 87

[Station commentary]

[Text] In this hour of station commentary, I will talk about the Chon Tu-hwan group's attempt to punish Mr Kim Son-tae, an expelled Seoul National University student who was engaged in activities for workers and other working masses after organizing the Kuro District League of Workers.

As is known, while alleging that Mr Kim Son-tae engaged in activities for the class liberation of workers and other working masses and for national liberation after organizing the Kuro District League of Workers, on 13 March, the Chon Tu-hwan group sentenced him to 6 years in prison and 6 years of civil rights suspension on charges of violating the National Security Law. The Chon Tu-hwan group said that it sentenced Mr Kim Son-tae and other members of the Kuro District League of Workers to such prison terms because they attempted to organize Marxist-Leninist party for socialist revolution through armed uprisings; praised the North; and printed and distributed leaflets containing President Kim Il-song's speeches. This is the most vicious form of procommunist fabrication based upon a sophistic way of thinking.

If the activities of Mr Kim Son-tae and other members of the Kuro District League of Workers were true, then there were patriotic activities to regain the lost national independence and to build a reunified and democratized society where workers and other working masses, becoming true masters of society, can lead a life worthy of man. In other words, Mr Kim Son-tae and other members of the Kuro District League of Workers are patriots who, while strengthening the worker-student alliance, were actively engaged in activities to force the withdrawal of U.S. forces, to overthrow fascist dictatorship, to seek the right to existence and democracy, and to reunify the fatherland. Struggling for national independence, democracy, human rights, and independent

and peaceful reunification in this land where U.S. colonial rule is enforced, where fascism is rampant, and where national division has continued is a duty of all our people and is an act of exercising their basic rights that cannot be blocked by anyone. They said that Mr Kim Son-tae and other members of the Kuro District League of Workers propagandized the North and printed and distributed leaflets containing speeches by President Kim Il-song. Their act is very natural is just. This is because the North, a society that most brilliantly realized the wishes of mankind for independent and creative lives, is a paradise for our people and because speeches by President Kim Il-song contain correct ways to realize our people's long-cherished wishes to lead a life worthy of man as true masters of society. In a word, Mr Kim Son-tae and other members of the Kuro District League of Workers deserve respect and cordial treatment from society and cannot be the targets of suppression. Nevertheless, branding the activities of the Kuro District League of Workers as an incident of attempting to organize a Marxist-Leninist party, and the Chon Tu-hwan group committed the fascist violence of handing our harsh punishment for Mr Kim Son-tae. Such a fascist violence by the Chon Tu-hwan group cannot be interpreted other than a smear campaign designed to block the anti-U.S. and antidictatorial struggle for democracy and to obliterate the patriotic democratic forces. However, no suppression and smear campaign of the Chon Tu-hwan group can block our people's anti-U.S. and antidictatorial struggle. The Chon Tu-hwan group must immediately stop its suppression of the patriotic democratic forces and unconditionally release the members of the Kuro District League of Workers, including Mr Kim Son-tae, and all other patriotic figures, youths, and students.

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CSO: 4110/096

## INTER-KOREAN AFFAIRS

### VNS REVIEWS TASK FACING STUDENT MOVEMENT

SK081112 (Clandestine) Voice of National Salvation in Korean to South Korea  
0300 GMT 5 Mar 87

[Special article: "The Current Situation and Task Facing Students in Their Movement"]

[Text] March, the month that heralds the arrival of spring, the season during which all living things come alive and struggles are fought, has come upon us. With a new semester upon us, the student movement, which mapped out new plans and substantially hardened their bodies and minds during the winter vacation to usher in a spring of (?a fiercer struggle) without the frustration of the cold winter during which fascist bayonet-wielding was rampant, is seething fiercely in search of an outlet to direct the fire of struggle.

Now, at this solemn moment in history, let us look squarely upon the political situation in South Korea amid which the student movement finds itself. It can be simply described as a situation in which two forces--one consisting of the youths, students, and people of all walks of life, the other made up of outside forces and the fascist Chon Tu-hwan ring--face each other in acute confrontation, a confrontation between a patriotic, democratic group and a reactionary group.

Our popular masses, who have deeply realized that there can be no compromise or concession of any kind between [passage indistinct] and the unrivaled murderous fascist group that has turned its back on public opinion and the nation in the wake of the death of Pak Chong-chol, a patriotic fallen fighter murdered as a result of barbarous torture inflicted by the Chon Tu-hwan ring, have now embarked down the road of struggle with indomitable fighting spirit to overthrow the current regime, which relies on torture to enforce its ways, at all costs.

As a result, the youths, students, religious people, off-stage democratic personages, and people of all walks of life across the country, including Seoul and Pusan, now vigorously raise their indignant voices' saying: "Let us have Pak Chong-chol back alive" and "Overthrow the regime that is devoted to torture."

Our popular masses' great march of justice to overthrow the regime unprecedentedly devoted to torture is now rapidly becoming a struggle for independence against the U.S. aggression forces, archvillains who stand behind

the rule devoted to torture, after the death of a former KATUSA soldier, Kim Yong-kon, was found to have been caused by the beasts--U.S. soldiers--who tortured him to death.

Disconcerted by the fighting spirit of our masses, the fascist Chon Tu-hwan ring and its masters, the U.S. aggression forces, have now begun full-scale suppression of the patriotic, democratic popular masses in a bid to maintain their colonial fascist rule that now faces crisis, with its brunt directed at the student movement--the mainstay of South Korea's mass movements.

The fascist Chon Tu-hwan group which, while considering the student movement to be the biggest snag that can scuttle their filthy political ambitions, has mounted since the outset of the new year a full-scale clean-up operation to rock the student movement to its foundation, is now clinging fast to [word indistinct] frantic suppression as the new semester begins. In a bid to keep the students' anti-U.S. and antifascist struggle from escalating and surging ahead with the beginning of the new semester, the Chon Tu-hwan group, openly threatening to more strictly apply law to student demonstrations, has issued in a rapid succession directives ordering police to suppress students engaged in struggle and announced results of investigations into the so-called incidents of pro-communist elements, including the plot of a pro-north, anti-U.S. communist revolution and the incident of a workers liberation ideology research institute, one after another, while cordoning off areas around campuses with mobilized police forces, and created a frantic whirlwind of crackdowns on patriotic students, using these incidents as an excuse.

Because of this, a large number of patriotic students who thoroughly abhor injustice and who are hotly enthusiastic about academic pursuits have now been flung into the fascist jail, while student movement organizational are being blocked. The student movement, which has hardened its will to fight to deal a severe blow to the fascist colonial rule with a more heated struggle when the new semester begins, now faces a serious challenge from fascism, in the midst of making its last kicks.

Now, what task should we immediately carry out to get rid of the obstacles and win a victory for the student movement by rescuing it? In other words, what kind of struggle should we stage to produce a new breakthrough in the student movement, thereby providing it with ultimate victory?

We should more vigorously rise in the struggle to overthrow the torturous regime. Prompted by the Chon Tu-hwan clique's atrocious torture murder of Pak Chong-chol, the anti-Chon Tu-hwan sentiment of patriotic masses from all walks of life has rapidly increased and is bursting into a struggle to eliminate the torturous rule.

In particular, the spirit of struggle to give vent to the grudge of the beloved fellow student surges like a volcano among the students with the approach of the new semester.

This is indeed an enormous threat to the Chon Tu-hwan fascist ring. Thus, the fascist clique played the foolish drama of reshuffling the concerned ministers and publishing an announcement of apology to settle the problem at an early date while attempting to frustrate the people's peaceful memorial service for Pak Chong-chol with guns and bayonets. It ran amok to repress the 3 March nationwide memorial service, branding it an illegal political function. This shows how frantically the Chon Tu-hwan clique is running amok to block the anti-U.S. and antifascist struggle of the students and patriotic masses, which has rapidly expanded, this event being the stimulation.

The student movement should be the focus of public opinion and should achieve a breakthrough in the struggle to drive the fascist ring into a corner by taking advantage of the incident of the murder of Pak Chong-chol. Functions of various types, including the memorial service for Pak Chong-chol who was cruelly tortured and murdered and for all other patriots, should be held on campuses and throughout the country by a million students, thus glorifying the campuses as magnificent memorial sites for deceased patriots.

The student movement, not remaining idle, should inspire students across the country in the struggle to force the Chon Tu-hwan clique to openly reveal the truth of all its acts of torture, to unconditionally release all political prisoners and prisoners of conscience, and to step down from power, and struggle for democratization of society.

Next, we should wage the courageous struggle to crush traitor Chon Tu-hwan's filthy ambition to remain in power and to realize democratic politics.

With the approach of the so-called peaceful transfer of power, the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring is pushing ahead with plans to grasp power again more viciously than ever before while openly revealing its ambition for this. The fascist ring is attempting to drag the opposition party into the Assembly, with double-dealing tactics of repression in one hand and appeasement in the other, and realize consent for the plan of the parliamentary cabinet system, a plan for long-term power.

However, in the face of strong opposition from the opposition party and patriotic masses from all walks of life who demand the formulation of a democratic constitution and a revision of the constitution that favors a direct election system, the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring has unilaterally designated March as the deadline for negotiations on constitutional revision. It openly raves that in case constitutional revision does not reach agreement at an early date, the DJP will push ahead alone with constitutional revision. It also threatens and menaces that it would make an important decision for smooth implementation of the political schedule. Thus, it has again showed the intent of the military hooligans to continuously grasp power via another military coup.

The United States, the actual mediator [chojongja] of politics in South Korea, lectured on negotiations between the ruling and opposition circles and stated that if such negotiations fail, democracy cannot be realized and a tragic situation would be created, thus menacing the patriotic and democratic forces.



Allowing the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring to retake power means tolerance and the continuation of slavery under the peerless nation-selling regime, the most atrocious torturous regime. Therefore, the student movement should more vigorously inspire the students in the struggle to resolutely crush the political scheme of the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring to lay a foundation for long-term power on the pretext of a peaceful transfer of power and build a more wicked stronghold of fascism.

The student movement should actively support the struggle of opposition democratic forces for constitutional revision that favors a direct election system and inspire the people in a powerful joint struggle to completely abolish the fascist evil laws and formulate a democratic constitution.

Thus, we should completely frustrate the cunning attempt of the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u ring to retake power using constitutional revision that favors a parliamentary cabinet system and the wicked scheme to extend power via a military coup.

Also, we should persistently wage the antiwar and antinuclear struggle for peace. Today the "Team Spirit-87" joint military exercise, a northward aggressive nuclear war exercise in which the American aggressor forces that have snuck in from the U.S. Mainland and military bases in Japan and Okinawa and their mercenaries, the South Korean army, are participating, is being staged on this land, further straining the situation on the Korean peninsula. Thus, all places in South Korea have been engulfed with gunsmoke.

The "Team Spirit-87" joint military exercise, in which enormous numbers of troops, nuclear carriers, and the various means to deliver nuclear weapons with which a complete actual war can be carried out are being mobilized, is a criminal military act designed to threaten our masses who have risen in the anti-U.S. and antifascist resistance struggle and to exterminate our people by bringing the calamity of a new nuclear war to this land.

Because of the "Team Spirit-87" South Korea-U.S. joint military exercise, our masses' anti-U.S. and antifascist national salvation struggle faces a grave threat and the Korean peninsula is experiencing an extreme situation [kukhan sanghwang] in which a nuclear war may break out at any moment.

If a war breaks out on the Korean peninsula, it will be expanded into a nuclear war and the nation will be destroyed. Nothing is more urgent than the work to rescue the nation from nuclear calamity. Thus, the urgent task laid before the student movement is to vigorously wage the antiwar and anti-nuclear struggle to rescue the nation from nuclear calamity.

The struggle to reject the "Team Spirit" joint military exercise and to eliminate the nuclear weapons deployed in South Korea is part of patriotic struggle to rescue our people and our nation from a destiny of ruin. Upholding the antiwar and antinuclear banner, all the patriotic students who love the nation and the people should resolutely rise in the struggle to reject the criminal "Team Spirit-87" joint military exercise and turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone by eliminating nuclear weapons from this land.

We should make the stormy wind of the anti-U.S. struggle for independence more fiercely blow in this land by persistently waging the struggle to put an end to the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. aggressor forces, the cause of nuclear war.

What is the revolutionary method of successfully carrying out the grave revolutionary tasks laid before the student movement, that is, to direct our main attention to raising the consciousness of the masses? Raising the consciousness of the masses is the basic key to victory in all struggles.

The leaders of all student movements and organizations of struggle should awaken the students and masses with the truth of chuche and should more substantively carry out the work of awakening the masses from all walks of life with consciousness of the anti-U.S. cause for independence. Important in raising consciousness is to assume the immortal chuche idea as the textbook for this work and to actively develop and utilize the forms and methods of the consciousness-raising work.

(?Leading) students should develop the method for consciousness-raising work vitality displayed in the practical struggle and should work out more active and more reasonable formulas and methods, thus vigorously pushing ahead with consciousness-raising work.

The organizational unity of the student ranks is an important factor that gives vitality to the student movement. We should actively protect and foster the core students of the movement through struggle. We should also thoroughly protect core members and leaders of the movement from repression by the fascist clique and expand the ranks of the young vanguard amid the practical struggle.

We should flexibly unite the movement organizations by safeguarding them from frenzied suppression by the military fascist clique and by rapidly restoring and maintaining destroyed organizations. At the same time, we should actively organize various types of mass organizations capable of rescuing a broad range of students and masses.

The use of scientific strategy and tactics is an indispensable factor in victory for student movement. The selection and use of strategy and tactics to lead the mass movement should be thoroughly made in such a manner as to seek the popularization of the movement.

Strategy and tactics that are self-righteously selected and applied merely based on accidental desire will not display their deserved effects and will only hinder the advance of the movement.

The avant-gardist movement based on illegal and violent struggle took place in part in the student movement in the past with only a few universities and a few vanguard fighters participating. This was not helpful to the advance of the movement.

The student movement should thoroughly avoid such phenomenon and should select and apply slogans of struggle and forms of struggle that can evoke the masses' sympathy and make the masses actively participate in the struggle. Actively inspiring joint acts and a united struggle is a decisive factor in victory for the mass movement.

The student movement should eliminate even the slightest degree of theoretical dispute and resolutely change bad habits that reject each other while distrusting each other and merely adhering to one's theory of struggle or the form of struggle and [passage indistinct].

The student movement should accept with generosity even inactive forces if they are helpful to slight degree in expelling the yankees and overthrowing the Chon Tu-hwan fascist dictatorship and should firmly unite with such forces. Thus, it should achieve nationwide unity.

During such a grave time when outside aggressors and nation-selling forces are running amok, colluding to suppress patriotic and democratic forces, the student movement should firmly unite with the patriotic masses from all walks of life under the banner of the national democratic front and wage a strong united struggle.

The student movement, which has crossed the hills of the struggle of 19 April, 24 March, and 3 June, and which has fostered the fighters of Kuma and Kwangju resistance struggle, has come to a fierce showdown with the colonial fascist forces.

The people are always on our side. Let us bring about the spring of independence, bring to bloom the tree of democracy, and achieve reunification by expelling the aggressors and nation-sellers and by touching off another 19 April uprising in this land and [passage indistinct].

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CSO: 4110/094

## INTER-KOREAN AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

TANZANIAN SUPPORTS TALKS PROPOSAL--Pyongyang 6 March (KCNA)--Adam Sapi Mkwawa, speaker of the National Assembly of Tanzania, in his statement published on 26 February stressed that the proposal of the great leader, his excellency President Kim Il-song for North-South high-level political and military talks is almost reasonable national salvation measure for easing tensions and creating an atmosphere of dialogue and peaceful reunification on the Korean peninsula. This is a save-the-nation proposal acceptable to anyone who truly wants peace in the country and its peaceful reunification, he said. He emphasized that if they really have the intention to remove the present state of confrontation between the North and the South and want peace in the country and its peaceful reunification, the South Korean authorities should stop the on-going provocative "Team Spirit 87" joint military manoeuvres and show a positive response to the proposal for North-South high-level political and military talks. [Text] [Pyongyang KCNA in English 0443 GMT 6 Mar 87 SK] /12232

ARRESTED ASSEMBLYMAN DEFENDS REUNIFICATION--Pyongyang 7 March (KCNA)--Yu Song-hwan, "assemblyman" from the South Korean opposition "New Korea Democratic Party," arrested and indicted on the charge of violation of the "National Security Law" after he opposed the "anti-communist state policy" and called for "state policy for unification" at the "National Assembly," totally denied the content of the indictment of the fascist clique at the fourth hearing in the puppet Seoul District Criminal Court on 2 March, according to a South Korean newspaper report. Accusing the prosecution of arbitrary fabrication of the indictment, he said he has expressed opposition to the "anti-communist state policy" and called for "a state policy for unification," meaning that "national unification should be sought, transcending ideology, idea and system as specified in the 4 July joint statement." Defending his remarks calling for reunification at the earlier trial on 19 January, Yu Song Hwan said: "We regard unification as a national task which should be placed above any political ideology and idea." [Text] [Pyongyang KCNA in English 1001 GMT 7 Mar 87 SK] /12232

CSO: 4100/135

S. KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

REPORTER ANALYZES OUTCOME OF SHULTZ VISIT

SK080058 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 8 Mar 87 p 2

["News Analysis" by staff reporter Yun Kuk-han]

[Text] Rival political parties differed yesterday in their evaluations of the visit to Korea of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

The ruling Democratic Justice Party appeared to think that Shultz's remarks on the Korean political situation were generally in its favor.

On the other hand, the opposition New Korea Democratic Party looked disappointed by Shultz's failure to put pressure on the government and the DJP.

DJP lawmakers said it was very natural for Shultz to stress the importance of dialogue and compromise. They said he must have been aiming at discouraging the opposition politicians from resorting to violent means.

They also called attention to the fact that Shultz showed interest in the 7-point democratization formula presented by NKDP President Yi Min-u.

The U.S. position as manifested by Shultz's remarks goes along the same lines as the DJP's, the ruling party members said.

In this regard, Shultz's visit might have served as an occasion to help rectify the opposition's "wrong" expectations of the United States, they said.

A DJP official said, "The U.S. Government has been maintaining coherent views on the Korean political situation for years.

"Based on this line of thought, Shultz requested the DJP to exercise restraint and perseverance, while asking the opposition to respect the spirit of dialogue and compromise."

The DJP appeared to have tried to deal with the recent visits to Korea of U.S. administration officials in a composed manner.

Key officeholders of the party deliberately avoided meeting with William Clark, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs.

The party also did not issue any official comments on the remarks by Shultz and Clark on the Korean political situation.

In the meantime, de facto NKDP leaders Kim Tae-chung and Kim Yong-sam appeared displeased over Shultz's remarks here.

Clark, who came to Seoul to prepare for Shultz's visit here, was quoted as having mentioned the so-called Yi Min-u formula.

The two Kims have been critical of the seven-point formula on the grounds that it given an impression that the NKDP is willing to negotiate over the cabinet form of government favored by the ruling DJP in exchange for the seven democratic reforms suggested by Yi last December.

What the two Kims are also concerned about is Clark's remarks in disfavor of the opposition's "out-of-parliament or street politics" and its demand for talks between the "leaders of real influence" in the rival camps.

During his meeting with President Chon Tu-hwan at Chongwadae, Shultz was quoted as saying Koreans should resolve political issues through dialouge and compromise and that they should deter any attempt to settle them by means of violence or street disturbances.

Commenting on Shultz's visit, Kim Tae-chung said the United States lacks an understanding of the opposition demand for a presidential form of government based on direct elections.

NKDP adviser Kim Yong-sam has made no clear-cut comment. Such an attitude taken by him was construed as an expression of his displeasure over Shultz's visit.

The NKDP Friday reaffirmed its official support for direct presidential elections, apparently to avoid giving the impression that the NKDP is willing to negotiate over the cabinet system if the ruling DJP realizes democratic reforms.

In contrast to the two Kims' unfavorable responses to Shultz's visit, NKDP president Yi and Yi Ki-Taek, a minor intraparty faction leader, appeared encouraged by his remarks.

The 70-year-old NKDP president considers it important that Clark mentioned his formula, which was said to have been scrapped as a result of his talks with Kim Yong-sam in January.

Party sources said that Yi is expected to strengthen his drive to realize the formula in an attempt to break through the current political deadlock over constitutional reform.

Yi Ki-Taek, a vice president of the NKDP, said that Shultz's visit failed to meet the demands of the opposition and there was "nothing new."

However, he responded favorably to Shultz's visit, by saying that when he met with Clark, he felt that the United States is encouraging "new Korean political leaders to raise their voice" to prepare for the post two Kims era.

Yi is considering running for the party presidency at its national convention in May.

Many other NKDP members said that "it doesn't matter to us which side the United States stands by. What we are concerned about is that Shultz's visit made no contributions to a settlement of the current situation regarding the constitutional issue."

The attitudes of the NKDP lawmakers and opposition figures toward meeting with the U.S. officials drew keen interest from the DJP.

The ruling party officials had expressly stated their displeasure over the opposition's "excessive concern" about the moves of U.S. Ambassador James Lilley.

The DJP office holders regretted the fact that the NKDP issued a statement in the wake of Shultz's visit and that the party went so far as to make remarks which was like "spitting in its own face."

Basically, the majority party understands that the present Korea-U.S. influence upon all Korean affairs comes short of giving some "friendly advice," the DJP official agree.

In this connection, Such attitudes of the NKDP and opposition organizations are nothing but subservient behavior that induces U.S. intervention, they assert.

In the meantime, the ruling party views that it is not appropriate to associate the visit of the U.S. secretary of state with Korean domestic politics only.

As Shultz himself remarked, his visit was aimed primarily at briefing the government on his discussions in China and discussing security and tension reduction on the peninsula, as well as bilateral trade issues, the DJP officials say.

Accordingly, regarding the Korean domestic political situation, the U.S. officials were here to collect information to help their policies toward Seoul, while reiterating their previous position on Korean political processes, they analyze.

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CSO: 4100/133

S. KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

CHON ON POWER TRANSFER AMID STABLE ATMOSPHERE

SK060114 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 6 Mar 87 p 1

[Text] Changwon, Kyongsangnam-do--President Chon Tu-hwan said yesterday that the transfer of government power, slated for next year, should be realized "in a stable and peaceful atmosphere." This, he said, is the wish of all the people.

If the power transfer is carried out amid chaos, the people will be harmed, the president emphasized.

In this context, the people should exert a united effort to eliminate elements of social confusion, Chon said.

President Chon made the points during his New Year administrative inspection tour of the Kyongsangnam-do Provincial Government here. Governor Cho Il-nae briefed the president on the local administration's 1987 policy programs.

Chon said that although his term expires in less than a year, he has no intention of creating policies designed simply to increase his popularity.

He then stressed that all public officials should carry out their duties with a "firm sense of mission."

Earlier in the day, the president inspected the yachting center in Suyong Bay in the port city of Pusan.

Chon was briefed on preparations for the September pre-Olympic Yachting Competition and the 1988 Olympic Games.

After the briefing, he ordered officials to prevent water pollution and keep moorings in good shape.

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CSO: 4100/133



S. KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

POLITICAL PARTIES AGREE TO HOLD EXTRA ASSEMBLY SESSION

SK060111 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 6 Mar 87 p 1

[Text] Political parties yesterday agreed broadly to convene a special session of the National Assembly sometime this month.

It is most likely that the extra House session will begin around 12 March because a final agreement is expected to be made on Monday when floor leaders of parties meet again. A 3-day notification period is necessary for an extra Assembly session.

The broad accord was made at a meeting of the whips at the Assembly building yesterday afternoon.

However, they failed to reach a compromise on how to revitalize the committee for constitutional revision and the duration of the House session.

They agreed to huddle together again on Monday after their consultations on the issues with their party leaders.

After the whips' talks, Representative Yi Han-tong of the DJP told reporters, "The rival parties held the identical view on the need for the convocation of the extra Assembly sitting in March."

"However," he went on, there were differences in our opinions on the resumption of the paralyzed ad hoc House panel and other **operational** matters of the Assembly. So, we agreed to meet again after adjusting our own internal opinions."

Representative Kim Huon-kyu of the NDP said, "We agreed, in principle, to the convocation of the extra House session. But it depends on whether the DJP will accept our new offer for the reopening of the crippled special panel for constitutional amendment."

If the special sitting of the Assembly is called, the parties will deal with overall state affairs with special reference to the protection of human rights.

As to the length of the special House session, the ruling party whip maintained that about 2 weeks, at least, is needed to deal with the overall national affairs.

NDP's Kim asserted that 10 days is sufficient because of scheduled conventions of his party to elect heads of local chapters, which will be held from the middle of this month to early April.

In response to the NDP's proposal for the normalization of the ad hoc house panel, DJP's whip Yi said his party will decide its stand after further examination.

He also added that if the extra House session is held, the permanent parliamentary body to protect human rights will be set up after discussions with the NDP.

Meanwhile, and [word indistinct] signs of softening their stances toward partisan negotiations over how to rewrite the Constitution.

The NDP proposed that the special National Assembly committee reopen on the condition that the ruling party guarantees the "dialogue between the real powers."

The NDP has demanded meetings between President Chon and its de facto leaders Kim Yong-sam and Kim Tae-chung to decide on the type of the next government to be adopted by a new Constitution, over which the parties have been pitted against each other, thus stalling the House panel.

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S. KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

EDITORIAL URGES NORMAL FUNCTIONING OF ASSEMBLY

SK080048 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 8 Mar 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Normal Assembly Function"]

[Text] The need for political compromise has never been felt so acutely as it is now. Less than a year is left for the nation to complete its packed political agenda for a peaceful transfer of power.

The right place for this is the National Assembly. Seeing that, the ruling and opposition camps have already activated an ad hoc parliamentary committee to hammer out a constitutional revision bill--the first item on the political agenda.

Regrettably, however, the rival members of the committee remain unable to get down to business in earnest, not because of matters of substance but because of affairs that have no direct bearing on their duty. This leads voters to doubt that the parliamentarians are representing them properly at this juncture so important for the nation's future.

As such, it is good to learn that the rival parties have agreed, in principle, to convene as Assembly session this month. Yet, what concerns us is the pre-conditions attached to actually opening the session, making the prospects for such a sitting bleak.

The opposition New Korea Democratic Party holds hard to its position that the constitutional panel inside the Assembly can open only when the ruling Democratic Justice Party accepts its call for "dialogue between real powers," who include, on the NKDP's side, the two wire pullers. Yi Min-u was elected party president [word indistinct] making the [word indistinct] to the streets by capitalizing on whatever opportunities presented themselves. The results, invariably, have been violent and chaotic, though somewhat different in scale, and have broken the law. Whatever the excuses, this goes against the primary principle of democracy--compromise through dialogue.

Given the harsh realities facing our country, we cannot afford to allow any further deviant politicking. Extremism serves no one.

Lawmakers should take their seats on the floor before it is too late. Compromise reached through sincere dialogue will prove beneficial to all and will bring about solutions, one by one. There is no alternative.

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## S. KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

### POLITICAL ANALYST LOOKS AT COMING 'GRAVE DECISION'

Seoul WOLGAN CHOSON in Korean Feb 87 pp 130-145

[Article by Kim Chin-bae, political analyst, former National Assemblyman]

[Text] Some Definite Substance

Many of us could see on TV that some progress was definitely being made as we viewed the break up of a meeting of the three opposition leaders, Yi Min-u, Kim Yong-sam and Kim Tae-chung and the one among the three-party representatives, Yi Che-hyong, No T'ae-u and Yi Min-u.

We could tell for sure that the constitutional revision proposal for the parliamentary-cabinet system does not exist in the National Assembly's Special Committee on Constitutional Revision (SCCR), nor in the pocket of the opposition party president, Yi Min-u, nor in the drawer of the ruling party chairman, No T'ae-u. In fact, the SCCR not only failed to accomplish anything substantial, but they were not even in the position to succeed. The SCCR was nothing but an outgrowth of the ruling party's reluctant agreement to the opposition party's request, and the SCCR got started without any specific idea of where to begin.

Drafting a constitutional revision agreed on by both the ruling and the opposition parties who have an equal number of members on the committee was as impossible from the beginning as electing a president with both parties' consent. By pretending that the impossible task was possible, both the ruling and the opposition parties were able to propagandize for their own benefit. The opposition party was proud of being able to bring the ruling party, which had opposed the idea of constitutional revision, to the constitutional revision table. The ruling party has been promoting a constitutional revision by consent of the two parties, while preparing for a parliamentary-cabinet type system.

Strictly speaking, the SCCR was not temporarily suspended, but it was a committee which never had an issue worthy of the cooperation of the ruling and the opposition parties, nor was it capable of having such issues. How on earth do they expect to compromise the parliamentary-cabinet system and the direct-election system? They may be able to show a sheep's head and lie and call it dog meat, but they cannot mix sheep head and dog meat and serve them.

At least such a method does not exist in our history of constitutional revision. There is only one exception. It is the so-called "Selected Revision" made in 1952 under the emergency martial law with opposition leaders in prison.

The representatives of the three leading parties [DJP, NKDP and KNP] do not have the power nor the capability to write a constitution, just as the SCCR is not a proper mechanism for drafting a new constitution. Then why are they in such a harmonious mood whenever they meet ?

They never brought up any subject that might cause disharmony. The general principle of party politics, that power is created by political parties, has never been applied up to now, at least in this country.

Although they clearly knew that the constitutional revision is directly related to the creation of a new power, they never even attempted to bring up any practical issues which can be a premise for a negotiation. In general, a negotiation is proposed by the seller to the potential buyer. It is a natural sequence for the ruling party to show something to the people in order to sell their treasure pot of the parliamentary-cabinet type government system. On the contrary, however, NKDP Chairman Yi Min-u, who has been leading the movement for the direct election system while opposing the parliamentary-cabinet system, proposed the so-called "Yi Min-u Plan" comprised of seven issues.

#### Tight Schedule for Constitutional Revision

Amidst such confusion and conflict, President Chon's appeal for "Constitutional Revision by Consent" and his warning of making a "Grave Decision" in his New Year's address implied that the issue is not restricted to the opposition party or the National Assembly but is the president's own problem. The political situation seems to be entering a new phase and is clearly quickening.

"I would like to invite all the political parties to end the constitutional issue in the National Assembly as soon as possible by discussing all the practical ideas for agreement in the revision with patience and self-control in order to avoid any delay in my political schedule."

"Both the ruling and the opposition parties must try their best to avoid a situation where no agreement can be reached so that I, as the head of the state, can make the important decisions for smooth progress in the political schedule."

In short, the president is appealing for the negotiation between the ruling and the opposition parties with a rose in one hand, while warning about an important decision with an iron hammer in the other hand.

The president's strong warning is a startling issue in view of the facts that he proved the rumor a fact by mentioning it personally and that he expressed his strong desire not to allow any element to enter which could be considered to be an obstacle to a smooth progress in the political schedule. It is even more so since such a strong expression has been rare recently.

We can deduce a new fact from this. What is important is not so much the appeal for an agreement in the constitutional revision issues but what the "important decision" will be, and how and when it will be developed in case they cannot reach an agreement.

Is the "important decision" coming? The answer would be different, depending on the situation. In principle, since the parliamentary-cabinet system is being requested by the ruling party, they should propose a clear plan and initiate positive negotiations for the revision. To the contrary, they seem to be waiting for the persimmon to fall into their mouths. Are they going to shake the tree so that the persimmon will fall? Are they going to get a long stick to prod the persimmon? Or are they going to chop down the tree if the persimmon will not fall down?

We are really concerned about what is going to happen. It is clear, however, that they are crossing off the days on the calendar of constitutional revision in their deep secret office where superficially nothing seems to be happening. Should we consider their superficial silence as they prepare "an unprecedented constitutional revision strategy that ordinary people cannot even think of"? What does the comment made by one of the DJP core members really mean--"We will not pass the constitutional revision in the manner that the former Democratic Republican Party did." Could it mean that they will give up trivial means of buying off and threatening? Or is it a threat to kill by a heavy bombing raid instead of making unnecessary noises by using rifles?

#### A Possibility for Accepting the National Referendum

A novel idea is quietly being heard from a corner of the political arena. A national referendum will be held between late February and early March; a referendum not for the constitutional revision but for the president's important policies. It has been made known that the idea was discussed as a possible means of avoiding the difficulties of negotiation with the opposition parties and the degree of extreme conflicts in relation to passing the bill in the National Assembly prior to the national referendum. It was judged that it would be easy to persuade the opposition parties after first getting people's support. In other words, it was expected that they could easily achieve their goal by changing the normal procedure of the National Assemblymen's proposal-passing in the National Assembly-national referendum to a novel procedure of national referendum-president's proposal-passing in the National Assembly-national referendum.

The only difference is that the former national referendum in the novel procedure is for an important national policy according to Article 47 in the Constitution while the latter is according to Article 131. When the NKDP Chairman Yi Min-u, last December, proposed a national referendum for selecting the political structure, choosing between the direct election and the parliamentary-cabinet systems the ruling party opposed it on the ground that a national referendum should ask yes or no on one issue, and it is illegal to select one of the two.

The French president, De Gaulle's blocking in 1962 of the source of noisy National Assembly arguments on their constitutional revision by implementing a national referendum for important policies (article 11 of the French Constitution) rather than the conventional procedure (article 89) implies many things to us. Has the government or the ruling party reviewed such a precedent in the national referendum, and will it be possible here in our country? Would an emergency measure to get rid of any source of risk in achieving their [ruling party] goal be possible?

Although it is difficult to make any firm prediction since the countermeasures from the president and the ruling party will be different depending on the upcoming political situation, we can think of the following situation:

First, a situation where the proposal for the parliamentary-cabinet system can be legally passed with the help of a part of the opposition party, although the agreed revision is almost impossible; second, a situation where the normal National Assembly session is difficult due to fierce interruptions from the majority of the opposition party although they [the ruling party] can get help from a part of the opposition party; third, a situation where it is unclear whether they can get enough votes for the revision; fourth, a situation where the opposition struggle to the parliamentary-cabinet system is so fierce that national security is paralyzed during the 2-month period between the formal proposal of the constitutional revision by the National Assembly and the national referendum; fifth, a case where a chaotic situation would develop in the election process of the National Assemblymen after winning the constitutional revision; sixth, a situation where a grave incident occurs whether it is related to such a tense political situation or not, or a situation where a measure is felt necessary to prevent such an incident.

#### What Are the Situations for an Important Decision?

Among the above listed situations, the most probable ones are the third, fourth and the fifth ones. Everyone knows that when the government and the ruling party are weak in political control, an important decision by the president, that is the presidential emergency power, can be made. According to the present Constitution, among many powers the president has three deeply hidden dreadful swords, which he scarcely uses and had better not use. They are the power to dissolve the National Assembly, the power to take an emergency measure, and the power to declare martial law.

#### The power to dissolve the National Assembly (Article 57):

(1) The president, when there are substantial reasons to believe that it is necessary for national security and the people's interests, can dissolve the National Assembly with clarified reasons after consulting with the National Assembly chairman and discussion with the cabinet. He cannot dissolve the National Assembly, however, within a year after a new National Assembly has been established.

(2) The president cannot dissolve the National Assembly twice for the same reasons.

(3) When the National Assembly is dissolved, the general election for Assemblymen shall be carried out between 30 and 60 days after it is dissolved.

The power to take emergency measures (Article 51):

- (1) The president can take necessary emergency measures covering overall national affairs, including the domestic, diplomatic, national defense, economic, financial and judicial matters to protect the nation when he determines that there is a necessity for an immediate measure when the nation is in a grave crisis due to an act of God, or in a financial or economic crisis, or is engaged in war, or in a situation comparable to the above.
- (2) In case of Clause 1, the president can temporarily revoke the people's freedom and rights specified in the constitution and can take special measures on the rights of the government and the courts in case he acknowledges the necessity.
- (3) When the president takes measures under Clauses 1 and 2, he should immediately notify the National Assembly for an approval, and in the event that National Assembly does not approve them, the measures shall become nullified immediately.
- (4) The measures under Clauses 1 and 2 should be limited to the shortest possible period during which the objective can be achieved. When the reasons [for the measures] is no longer valid, the president should lift the measures immediately.
- (5) When the National Assembly requests the lifting of the measures by the majority of votes, the president should lift them.

The power to declare an emergency martial law (Article 52):

- (1) The president can declare a martial law according to the law when it is necessary to respond to the military need or to maintain public order by using military forces under such circumstances as war, national emergency, or other circumstances comparable to the above.
- (2) Martial law consists of an emergency martial law and a guard martial law.
- (3) Under an emergency martial law, special measures can be taken regarding the warrant, the freedom of speech, press, assembly, and association, and the rights of the government and the courts.
- (4) When the president declares martial law, he should immediately notify the National Assembly.
- (5) When the National Assembly requests that the martial law be lifted by a majority vote, the president must lift it.

From the strict requirements on the president's emergency power, we can see that the power is a strong one which should be exercised under extremely abnormal circumstances to protect the sovereign rights. The best policy therefore is not to exercise such a power, and even if he has to exercise it under unavoidable circumstances, there should be clear justification and everyone should agree on the necessity.

In view of these legal aspects, many people observe that there are insufficient justifications to exercise emergency power just to pass the constitutional revision bill.

When they revised the constitution [in the past] after dissolving the National Assembly, they did it under martial law in a threatening atmosphere. Among



the five constitutional revisions which were passed in the National Assembly, only the 1952 revision was made under an emergency martial law. The revision in 1954 by the Liberal Party for the third reelection [of the then president Syngman Rhee], the 1969 revision by the Democratic Republic Party for the third reelection [of the then president Park Chung-hee], and the two revisions in May and November 1960 by the Democratic Party have been carried out under normal conditions [without martial law]. If such emergency measures are necessary in the current situation, the justification for changing the current president-centered political system to the parliamentary cabinet system is not adequate. Thus, without showing many more urgent reasons, it will be difficult to find a justification [for emergency measures].

Considering these aspects therefore, one might interpret the president's address not as a warning to make an "important decision," but as a strong plea for the agreed constitutional revision in order not to make an "important decision."

### Dissolving National Assembly Not an Easy Task

It is a general observation that the possibility of an agreed constitutional revision is getting slimmer everyday, judging from the development of the political situation. If an agreed constitutional revision is not achieved, the government and the ruling party will not just sit and watch. It is here where the seriousness of the problem lies.

In any event, the timing of the emergency power exercise will be determined depending on the upcoming situation, and on what the government and the ruling party are aiming at.

Let's take a look at the problem from a narrow perspective. They may be able to create a new constitution and power from the new National Assembly after dissolving the existing one if they decide they don't have enough votes. In this case, the National Assembly should be dissolved at least before June.

Dissolving in June--Election in July--Constitutional Revision in August is a possible scenario. Can the dissolution be possible? As a matter of fact, the National Assembly had been dissolved not one time but three times (in 1961, 1972, and 1979) in the history of the Korean Constitution. Not all of these followed the constitutional procedure.

If they should dissolve the Assembly without overall follow-up plans in relation to the political system reshuffle, the effectiveness will no doubt be inadequate. Furthermore, in order for the scenario of Dissolution-Election-Reshuffle to be carried out without any slippage, a safety buffer is required. What could this be? If they carry out the general election with opposition leaders in prison or handcuffed, it is not only unfair but also against the principle of equality. And if they carry out the general election under martial law, they cannot avoid the criticism of conspiring an illegitimate election. When it is related to a change in the power structure and a relevant new establishment of power, rather than a mere result of power struggle, we know that the dissolution of the National Assembly is not a simple matter.

In the fourth case, that is, during the one or two month period during the process of the motion by the National Assembly-Pass in the National Assembly-National Referendum, the struggle for opposing the parliamentary-cabinet type government is so severe that public safety is at stake. The timing for exercising the emergency power in this case is when the actual crisis occurs.

There is a limitation, however, to the police power blocking the political movement. They can disperse the crowds and put some in jail, but cannot obtain the support of these people, because restoring trust in the government is as important to the government as restoring social order. Even if they should change the constitution in their favor by means of an emergency power, it is not the end but just a plan for creating a new ruler.

The purpose of revising the constitution is to become a majority party by winning the general election and making sure that there is no change in the power base. If the people become disappointed during the process of the constitutional revision and as a result the ruling party unexpectedly loses in the general election, that might make matters worse.

In short, it is very difficult to predict the contents and timing of the emergency measure at a nonemergency time. And we learned that it does not seem as though the president can easily exercise his emergency power even if that power is provided for in the constitution.

Revision by Consent Is Lost, Independent Action by Force Is the Only Option?

In any event, when evaluating some possible upcoming developments, the effect of the president's warning on the grave decision will loom large and act as a time bomb threatening the overall political atmosphere surrounding the constitutional revision. The threatening power of nuclear weapons does not diminish even if they are not used. Only if the other party is equipped with comparable nuclear weapons, is it effective in preventing a war. The opposition party who is opposing the parliamentary-cabinet type government is not capable of exercising the emergency power, which is comparable to high-power nuclear weapons. It is the president's special power. The reason why it is practically difficult to exercise the power, however, is that it will do more harm than good when the justification is insufficient.

Then in what manner will the negotiation for a revision by consent be accomplished and will it be fruitful anyway? How is the crisis going to be managed when an agreed revision is not accomplished?

A definite fact is that the current president is supposed to step down on 24 February 1988 and the government and the ruling party are trying to shift the power from the president to the prime minister by revising the constitution, and establish a new power base.

The government and the ruling party are heavily loaded with the following three major tasks that they have to deal with almost simultaneously during the next couple of months. The first task is to pass the constitutional revision

bill; the second one is to secure a majority of seats in the general election; and third, is a reorganization of the power structure.

#### DJP Short 36 Votes

The first problem is whether or not they can pass the bill in their favor. The general concept is that the government and the ruling party can accomplish anything if they want to and the opposition party keeps fighting without accomplishing anything. It is a big misunderstanding as far as the constitutional revision is concerned.

In fact, the ruling party can pass any bill or budget if they want to no matter how unreasonable they are as long as the majority-vote rule is in effect. They can defend any opposition within the National Assembly. On the contrary, the opposition party has no power to change even a word in the law and to cut even 2 billion won which is only one ten-thousandths of the total budget. As far as discussions and votes are concerned, they are exactly equal.

As a collective mass in terms of a political party, however, they differ like heaven and earth. This is why the government and the ruling party are responsible for the national administration. The constitutional revision is the only exception. Almost all other issues require the majority of the votes from the majority in attendance. But the constitutional revision bill requires two-thirds of the votes of the total number of the National Assemblymen. The proposal itself requires one-third of the National Assemblymen.

The constitution was made in such a way that it cannot be easily revised. The major opposition party NKDP has only 90 seats. Thus in reality, they cannot even propose their dream of a direct election system to the National Assembly by themselves because the minimum requirement is 92 votes, which is one-third of the total 274 votes.

What about the DJP? They occupy 147 seats including even two-thirds of the total nonpopular votes. They are also short of 36 votes for the constitutional revision, which requires a minimum of 183.

#### Restrictions on Even the Ruling Party's Measures

The NKDP's problem is the inability to formally propose their direct election system, whereas the DJP's problem is a shortage of the votes for revising several articles in the constitution. In the history of the constitutional revision, there has never been a case where this many [36] votes were short.

In case of the so-called "Round-Off" constitutional revision by the Liberal Party in 1954, the bill was not passed initially due to a shortage of only one vote, even though the party had two-thirds of the seats, and later on they reversed the decision in their favor by applying the round-off rule. In 1969, when the Democratic Justice Party revised the constitution for the three-term reelection of [the then President Park Chung-hee], they almost had two-thirds of the total seats. Officially and unofficially, they brought up the

constitutional revision as an election campaign issue and at least superficially they could claim the people's support.

The DJP on the contrary is not only far short of the necessary votes for the constitutional revision but they also stubbornly claimed "no constitutional revision during the current president's tenure" when the opposition party attacked them by raising the issue of the constitutional revision for direct election of the president during the last general election.

The conflict ended with a compromising term of "constitutional revision by consent [agreed revision]." The opposition party believed that if they could only make the ruling party establish a Special Committee on Constitutional Revision (SCCR), "the job would be half done," whereas the ruling party's intention was to make the opposition party agree on the proposal of the parliamentary cabinet type government under the mask of the agreed revision.

In reality, compromising the two totally different proposals for direct election and the parliamentary cabinet may be possible for a magician pulling out a dove from his sleeves but was an impossible political task from the beginning. Although the idea has collapsed as expected, they did not completely abandon the term "agreed revision." But the term has two exactly opposite meanings. To the DJP it means the opposition party's agreement on the parliamentary cabinet system and to the opposition parties it means the ruling party's agreement on the direct election of the president.

#### Nobody Can Withstand the Emergency Measure

Will the constitutional revision idea fail since the agreed revision seems to be impossible? A new term of "legal revision" has been created recently. The meaning of the term will be clear when it is used as a unilateral revision. It is understood that basically the ruling party alone will pass the bill with minor support from the opposition parties. The distribution of the current National Assembly seats is as follows: DJP 147, NKDP 90, People's Democratic Party 21, Democratic Party 12, Democratic Korean Party 3, and 1 nonpartisan. The minimum requirement for two-thirds of the total number of seats of 274 is 183. Thus the DJP is short 36. Unless they could get all of the minor opposition votes, the constitutional revision is numberwise impossible without partial support of the NKDP.

There are two reasons for believing that the constitutional revision is possible despite all the negative aspects. First, at least 20 NKDP members including the 8 noncore members are believed to support the parliamentary cabinet proposal. The number might increase substantially if they count on additional members who try to put themselves at some distance from the two Kims after the Yi Min-u incident.

Secondly, another observation is that if in case the government and the ruling party resort to nonpolitical means [such as bribery], the internal collapse in the opposition party will be like melting snow in the spring.

Under the current political circumstances, it is extremely difficult to find an exit. It is very difficult to secure the required number of votes as long as the current circumstances and conditions remain unchanged.

Regardless of whether the president's warning of a grave decision aims at encouraging negotiation for an agreed revision or it is a real warning that an actual decision will be made, there will doubtless be strong conflicts and confusion between the ruling and the opposition parties related to the constitutional revision in 1987 between the hardliners insisting on making a grave decision and the moderates trying to prevent such a decision from being made.

The conflicts between the hardliners and moderates are inevitable in an emergency situation. There is no difference in that respect between the ruling party who has the sword and the opposition parties.

The weakest point of the ruling party is that revision would not clearly lead to power. The leading proponent for the constitutional revision has been traditionally those who will take power or continue their power by revising the constitution. The two revisions in 1960 after the April 19 Student Uprising were in fact to ensure power for the Democratic Party.

Both the "selected revision" in 1952 and the "round-off revision" in 1954 played pivotal roles to guarantee Syngman Rhee's election for the second and third terms. And there is no doubt that of all the three revisions the one in 1962 to transfer power to the civilian government, the one in 1969 to remove the no-more-than-two-terms restriction and the so-called Yushin Honpop [meaning the Revitalizing Reforms Constitution] in 1972, were aimed at Park Chung-hee's participation in the civilian government, the third-term reelection and permanent power, respectively.

What about today's reality? The government and the ruling party are called the "ruling circle" in a collective sense. Then who will be the one to grasp the power by revising the constitution for the parliamentary cabinet type system? It is out of the question that the prime minister is the center of power under the parliamentary cabinet system. Who is emerging as a candidate for the prime minister? The DJP representative No T'ae-u has been considered to be a candidate from time to time, but has not surfaced yet.

If the DJP is seriously determined to achieve the parliamentary cabinet system, they should first of all appeal for a possible candidate who will promote the movement. Otherwise, they will have an empty headquarters or will face confusion from weak headquarters.

#### Narrow Negotiation Margin, Electoral District Adjustment Also Problems

It may sound hasty to bring up the candidate names for a position which does not even exist in the current constitution since there is a president with tremendous power and the DJP is controlling the National Assembly as a majority party. We should be careful, however, for the following facts. The transfer of power is not like just having someone in heaven give it to another on earth.

As expiration of the incumbent's term draws near, an early promotion of a successor and the preparation for the power takeover with the people's blessings is a necessary step in the competition between the parties, as well as in the competition within a party.

The second weak point for the DJP is the extremely narrow negotiation margin. It is a fact that for at least 15 years after the Yushin system the political freedom and rights have been extremely restricted.

Although the extent of the government's restriction on the political freedom and rights has varied from time to time, nobody can deny that they have been restrained to a degree unseen in any other democratic nation.

It is to such an extent that even the basic political freedom and rights consist of the negotiation agenda between the ruling and the opposition parties, which cannot be conceived in other [democratic] countries.

When in the past did the issues of the political dissidents' release and pardon or restoring their rights become the subjects of a political negotiation? All of these reflect the political tension after the Yushin constitution in 1972, especially after the 1980 incident.

Judging from the fact that whether there are political prisoners or not is a measure of defining a democratic society, we are facing the difficulty of agreeing on the basic principle of democracy first rather than on the political negotiation.

The agreement on the pending issues between the ruling and the opposition parties is extremely difficult, because the basic viewpoints between the two parties are different. Furthermore, it is known that the ruling party is in a dilemma in adjusting the electoral district for some opposition party members as a reward for supporting their parliamentary cabinet proposal.

#### Ruling Party's Weak Point, Opposition Party's Blind Point

It is fundamentally impossible for the ruling party to get the absolute majority in countries which adapt the medium electorate system [such as Korea]. Nevertheless, since the Yushin system we have adopted a system called "simultaneous election for both parties" which sounds awkward but in fact contributed to reducing a crash between the ruling and the opposition parties.

If they want to advocate the multi-party system in reality as well as in name, we can think of a way to open the door for minority parties by changing the election system from the current system of the two representatives from one district to a new system where we can elect two or more from one district.

In this case, however, the ruling party's strategy of weakening the power of the major opposition party accompanies the risk of losing the election. Furthermore, under the parliamentary cabinet system where the relative power of the National Assembly is strong, securing more seats in the Assembly is an absolute condition, unlike under the current system.

Under the presidential system, there is no change in the presidential power at least constitutionally, even if the party which the president belongs to becomes a minority party, although it has not happened in our country. It might cause a little inconvenience in managing the National Assembly but the president will not experience any difference in administering national affairs. Here, even if the party becomes a minority party, it is still the party in power.

Under the parliamentary cabinet system, on the contrary, the prime minister who has the ultimate responsibility for national affairs is elected in the National Assembly as head of the majority party. If the DJP, the current ruling party, could not secure majority seats in the election, they have to immediately face the difficulties of a minority party. In fact, there is a good possibility for the negotiation margin to be only nominal due to a tense atmosphere where none of the crisis management of the DJP can be altered, together with the urgent necessity of a landslide victory in the next election.

The ruling party's weakness lies basically in the difficulty of changing the crisis management system, whereas the opposition party's blind points are in the following facts; first, the ideological disputes which inevitably showed up in the past emergency situations, will accelerate the opposition party's internal discord; and secondly, they cannot turn away the voters.

Strictly speaking, the recent discord between Yi Min-u and the two Kims, which attracts a great deal of concern from many concerned parties, is a result of ideological dispute. They attribute the success in the movement of getting 10 million signatures for the direct election system and in the "constitutional revision revision hanging board ceremony" to the people's support. As a result, they made the ruling party change the stubborn attitude of "an impossible constitutional revision" to establish the "SCCR," which the opposition party attributes to the results of an outdoor [of the National Assembly] struggle. What is the current situation?

The outdoor struggle is facing a wall and the SCCR is stagnant. The two Kims have not relaxed the desire to achieve the direct election system whereas Yi Min-u is agonizing over how to defend against the ruling party's attack on the constitutional revision for the parliamentary cabinet system.

In a certain way, it is not that Yi Min-u won't follow the two Kims' leadership but that he might have concluded that it is beyond his power to follow it. There is a limit, however, in Yi Min-u's marching steps, because when the DJP applauds his movement and the NKDP's noncore members under the banner of "Democratic Federation" shout to welcome his movement, Yi Min-u has no choice but to stop his march. The reason is that although he might have some reservation in fully cooperating with the two Kims' tough stance, it may be difficult for him to share the opinion with those who had been criticizing him.

The internal discord will easily divide the party into hardliners and moderates. The more distance the moderates put between themselves and Yi Min-u

and the two Kims criticizing them, the tougher the party core members will become. It is not only because of the difference in viewing the situation, but because it is directly related to the question of from whom they will be nominated for the candidacy with respect to the upcoming election after the constitutional revision.

Politicians are very sensitive as to who are supporting them. The rapid increase in the number of politicians and the upcoming reshuffle in the political community will inevitably result in widening the doors of the political parties. What is more important is not who in the NKDP have what kind of attitudes but how the NKDP core members will firmly challenge the attack of the parliamentary cabinet system.

#### If Number of Votes Unclear, Government Might Propose the Constitutional Revision

Meanwhile, the attitude of the People's Party is considered basically no different from that of the NKDP. Since they have adopted the direct election system as the party platform, it will require substantial pain to change the party platform. Even if they change the party platform, it is questionable as to how many will support the parliamentary cabinet system out of the 21 assemblymen.

They cannot neglect the voters' concern. The possible new system of multi-delegates from one district does not attract all of the People's Party members because each electoral district has different situation. As for the People's Democratic Party which was established by members separated from the NKDP, there is a good possibility that they will support the ruling party as a group since their background was to criticize the two Kims and advocate the parliamentary cabinet system. The attitude of the Democratic Korean Party with only three assemblymen remains yet to be seen.

When will be the timing of the opposition parties' support of the parliamentary cabinet system? It depends on who makes the proposal; the government or the National Assembly. Each has advantages and disadvantages. If the absolute majority wants the parliamentary cabinet system, the proposal by the National Assembly will undoubtedly increase the demonstration effect. If not, the government will initiate the proposal and a full-scale scouting effort will follow.

If the ruling party wants to take the leading position in the upcoming general election, they will take the initiative to make the proposal. On the other hand, if they consider the possible loss in the election, they might shift the the responsibility of proposing to the government.

At least judging from the current situation, it is difficult to expect the constitutional revision bill to be passed smoothly. The predominant observation is that the bill will be passed under an unusual circumstance within the shortest possible time frame. Once the constitutional revision proposal is submitted to the National Assembly, it is supposed to be announced publicly for at least 20 days. The National Assembly can process it anytime after 20 days but no later than 60 days from the submission.



The purpose of the time constraint of 60 days is to avoid the unstable situation as soon as possible, rather than drag the issue indefinitely. Once the proposal passes in the National Assembly, the next step is the national referendum. The president is supposed to announce the referendum date officially. In other words, such an enormous task can be carried out in a one to two-month period; 20 days for public announcement - 5 to 20 days for discussion in the National Assembly - 7 days until the national referendum.

If the revision proposal is passed smoothly in the National Assembly, the shock in the following national referendum and the general election will be small. If the proposal is passed illegally, or unfairly or unreasonably, a movement opposing the constitutional revision will spread immediately to the national referendum.

Traditionally, the previous turnout in national referendums was high and support was great. The 1962 national referendum carried out by the military government before transferring the power to the civilian government got 78.8 percent "yes"; the 1969 referendum for the third-term reelection got 65.1 percent "yes"; and even the 1972 referendum for Yushin Constitution was officially announced to have gotten 91.5 percent "yes". The result of the 1972 referendum for prohibiting the discussion of the constitutional revision was 73.1 percent "yes". The 1980 referendum on the current constitution got a record high of 91.6 percent "yes." The severe resistance to the constitution and the direct challenge to the current political system so far tell us that the Yushin constitution which got 91.5 percent support and the current constitution which got 91.6 percent support did not get people's support in the true sense. It has clearly shown that the democracy cannot grow without legitimate democratic procedures.

The reason why people are watching the procedures as carefully as the contents of the constitutional revision is that these procedures themselves are directly related to the legitimacy and rightfulness of the new power.

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S. KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION, GRAND MARCH

Seoul TONG-A ILBO in Korean 3 Mar 87 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] On March 3rd, the sixth anniversary of President CHUN Du-hwan's inauguration was observed. Incidentally, it was also the 49th day after the late PAK Chong-ch'ol's torture death, for which the Buddhists held a service for the repose of the dead. It marked a day of violent clash between the opposition party, dissidents and the police over the March 3rd grand memorial parade.

What in the world is the reason for such a division of the national opinion? They are only headed toward confrontation, with no attention paid to accommodation and concession. In the face of such warlike scenery, people only feel suffocated.

The government seems to believe the exercise of public power as "a magic cure-all." It has been repeatedly dependent on hardline measures alone. The ruling party has even delayed its regular national convention. They are now engrossed in groping blindly for who might be the successor to power.

In the opposition party, their race for party leadership has begun with the scheduled national convention in May. There already is a gloomy foreboding as to whether dialogue will be made smoothly or not.

Even some scholars and politicians must have been dismayed. They put out some ideas for a cabinet supported by the whole nation or a caretaker government. No one, however, seems to listen seriously to their proposition. It seems that nothing can be done unless the current mist of mutual distrust is cleared away.

In this hazy atmosphere, however, there is one thing that remains certain -- the fact that President CHUN's seven-year single term of office expires on Feb. 24, 1988. A period of one year can in no way be enough time even if all preparations are made steadily, substantively, and elaborately.

For the peaceful transfer of power in 1988, the pending constitutional revision issue should first be solved. Without any progress to this problem, what now appears certain to come in February next year, may become uncertain.

Some express concern about the question of the successor to power, saying that any early emergence of one may breed "the leakage of the supreme power." Needless to say, the people should know how difficult it is to step down from power. Nevertheless, we believe that those in power should be ready, transcending emotionalism, to face the time for endurance.

This is because they have to assume the modest posture of waiting for judgement by history. Otherwise, we believe it will be difficult to translate the hard and resolute decision into practice.

Even in the U.S., they say a lot of problems follow when the president becomes a lame duck near the end of his term. Yet, they have tided over such a crisis well, with the time-honored democratic traditions and practices as well as the devices for the decentralization of power.

CSO; 4107/135

S. KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

BRIEFS

GRADUATES EXCLUDED FROM TEACHING--Twelve graduates of Seoul National Teacher's College were excluded from being employed as primary school teachers for their alleged involvement in campus disturbances while attending school, it was belatedly learned yesterday. The Seoul City Board of Education said that it has decided to withhold the employment of 12 graduates of the college as primary school teachers because they once participated in campus unrest or violated school regulations. The punitive action was the first one taken against teacher's college graduates since the Ministry of Education warned late last year that no teacher's and education college graduates will be allowed to find jobs at primary and secondary schools in case they had a record of taking part in campus violence and committing other "improper deeds." [Text] [Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 7 Mar 87 p 3 SK] /12232

CSO: 4100/133

S. KOREA/SOCIAL CONDITIONS

**SPECIAL LAW PLANNED TO PREVENT SPREAD OF AIDS**

SK090237 Seoul YONHAP in English 0224 GMT 9 Mar 87

[Text] Seoul, 9 March (YONHAP)--The Korean Government has decided to introduce a special law allowing corporal punishment against those who contribute to the spread of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), the Health and Social Affairs Ministry announced Monday.

As part of a series of measures to prevent the spread of the deadly disease, those who fail to notify medical authorities of those who test positive to the AIDS virus may face imprisonment.

The plan reflects the government's tough position on the prevention of AIDS, in view of the fact that the Prosecution Office generally imposes only a fine against those who violate medical laws in Korea.

The death last month of a man who produced a positive reaction in the blood test for the AIDS virus has created much fear about the spread of the disease in Korea.

On 12 February, a 62-year-old Korean man who produced a positive reaction in the blood test for the AIDS virus died of "respiratory paralysis" at a hospital in Seoul after returning from Kenya, the ministry announced. He reportedly received a blood transfusion while in the African country.

It was the first death reported in Korea in connection the fatal disease.

The special law, now being prepared by the ministry, is expected to restrict the sexual activities of prostitutes and homosexuals who test positive for the AIDS virus. The ministry plans to submit the bill in the first half of this year.

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CSO: 4100/133

S. KOREA/SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

PROSPECTS FOR 1987 EXPORTS TO U.S.

Seoul MAEIL KYONGJE SINMUN in Korean 14 Jan 87 p 4

[Article by a special correspondent in New York, Chang Pyong-ch'ang: "Prospects for 1987 Exports to U.S. as Seen From U.S."]

[Text] How much will Korea export to the United States this year? The New York Trade Center's estimate is \$15.5 billion, which is a 13 percent increase over last year, while the estimate of the Korea Traders Association's New York branch is \$16-16.8 billion, which is a 15-20 percent increase over last year.

The New York Trade Center's estimate is taken from a survey on each product, while the Korea Traders Association's estimate comes from a survey on 39 major traders including general merchandisers in the United States.

Such estimates are based on the assumption that economic conditions in the United States and Japan will improve slightly over last year's and that depreciation of the dollar against the yen, whatever the range, will continue this year.

The New York Trade Center originally estimated this year's Korean exports to the United States to be up to \$16 billion, but has adjusted it to \$15.5 billion after taking the following negative factors into account: appreciation of the won against the dollar, freeze on increases in textile exports, exclusion of GSP privileges for certain products such as computers, and the growing U.S. protectionism on semiconductors and other electronic goods.

Also, the Korea Traders Association's estimate assumes that the won's value against the dollar will rise no more than 3 percent over the value at the end of 1986 (\$1 = 861.40 won).

According to the association's analysis, 87 percent of the Korean companies plan to introduce new products in the U.S. market this year, which will boost exports by \$2 billion including \$1.6 billion for automobiles.

The association's survey shows that 89 percent of the respondents plan to increase export prices this year.

The association estimates this year's imports from the United States to reach \$7.8-8 billion, a 10-15 percent increase over last year. And 22 companies, or 56.4 percent of the 39 companies surveyed, said they are studying plans to import certain items from the United States rather than from Japan.

According to this forecast, this year's Korean exports to the United States will continue rising along with more imports from the United States.

But the association concludes that Korea's trade surplus in Korean-U.S. trade this year will be about \$1 billion more than that of last year.

The U.S. trade deficit is not yet expected to fall significantly, but Korea ranked 6th last year, compared with 9th in 1985, in terms of its size of trade surplus among the countries trading with the United States.

Korea's dependency for its exports on the U.S. also grew to 40 percent last year from 35.9 percent in 1985.

If such matters attracted more attention in the United States, they might cloud an otherwise bright sky.

Under these circumstances, the Democrats secured more seats in both the Senate and the House. However, the idea that U.S. protectionism would be weakened as the Democrats, functioning as a responsible party, would be more careful in handling trade policies, is regarded as simplistic opinion that ignores other facts.

We should not get so excited about growing exports that we fall into an ambush.

We are already keenly aware of U.S. demands for open markets in Korea, and the U.S. pressure on appreciation of the won's value. At the same time, we cannot help worrying about potential changes in overall commerce laws by the U.S. Congress.

That's not all. We must keep in mind that various import restrictions on major items are still alive and well, although they have not been well publicized.

The textile industry is actively lobbying for renewal of the 1985 Jenkins bill in the Congress while secretly studying possibilities of imposing such measures as a quota system and import license system.

In the case of semiconductors, in response to the Japanese industry's demand during the U.S.-Japan semiconductor agreement in November of last year, the U.S. Department of Commerce has asked Korea to voluntarily restrict exports to the United States. Since then, the Commerce Department has been actively studying export prices and quantities of semiconductors.

At the time of extension of voluntary quotas on Japan's automobile exports, U.S. analysts believe, Japan did not rule out the possibility that it might

request the United States to ask Korea to adopt voluntary quotas on automobile exports, which had just begun. The analysts believe introduction of a new bill is still possible so that imports of Korean made cars will be controlled based on opening of the Korean markets.

As imports of steel products, which have been restricted, have grown up to 22 percent of the U.S. Market, exceeding the planned 18.5 percent level, the U.S. steel industry has been lobbying for reduction of imports to the originally planned level and for extension of the quota period. The [Reagan] administration has reportedly formed a special committee to develop plans to rescue its industries in trouble resulting from such events as the recent bankruptcy of LTV and the long-term strike at USX.

It is known that the shoe industry, since the Reagan administration refused, in August 1985, to launch rescue projects, has cooperated with the textile industry to promote protectionism, to complain under the Article 301 of the Commerce Law, and to develop protective laws.

Besides, in December of last year, the administration announced its intent to study exports of machine tools by seven countries including Korea.

In connection with such movements in U.S. industries, an authority in Commerce said each industry will try to develop its own protective measures, but if it becomes difficult to implement such measures, the industries will likely develop selective measures such as inclusion of basic articles in a general trade bill.

If protective bills for the textile industry become part of the general trade bill, Congressmen from the agricultural states, who have so far stood against such bills, will reportedly join the movement.

The authority said that Korea has frequently responded positively to the U.S. demands during the resolution of Korean-American trade frictions, and that as to the question of what kind of position the U.S. Congress would take toward Korea in trade issues, a Congressional authority reportedly said, given that the European Community (EC) and Canada have traditional relationships [with the U.S.] and South America is, in general, deeply indebted, Korea, Taiwan and Japan are obviously subject to trade restrictions based on the current Commerce statistics.

After all, it seems that we should be more cautious this year than ever, so that we don't be trapped no matter how rosy this year's prospects for exports to the U.S. may be.

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## S.KOREA/SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

### MINISTRY LOOKS TOWARD FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

Seoul KWAHAK KWA KISUL in Korean Oct 86 pp 23-35

[Report by Ministry of Science and Technology: "Long-Range Science and Technology Development Toward the year 2,000"]

[Excerpts] We aim to establish innovative scientific technology bases and balanced regional development and enter the 21st century by building "technology towns" in various parts of the country and by effectively investing scientific technology resources in regional economic development.

To meet this end, it is imperative to complete the Daeduck Technology Center as soon as possible so that we may expand research activities, expedite the application of new technology, promote the distribution of technology, assign specific projects to various regions, and construct small and medium-sized research and development sites to be affiliated with the Daeduck Technology Center.

Daeduck, which will be developed with a minimum ecological impact, occupies 3.88 million pyong (approximately 3,880 acres), accommodating 50,000 people (including 20,000 research and training personnel), and consists of 50 research and educational facilities, plus support, cultural, welfare, and education activities and housing services.

When the Daeduck Center is completed in the latter part of the 1990's, it will serve as the nucleus for a nationwide technology network gearing up for the year 2000 and beyond.

The government will invest in research development, scientific manpower development, and technology information in areas chosen on the basis of feasibility studies and local incentives.

Specifically, existing industrial complexes will be encouraged through research development, education, and information-sharing to upgrade their technologies; agricultural industrial complexes will be assisted through support of provincial industries and small and medium-size businesses to create more jobs and increase supplementary farm income; and new research centers will be devoted to strategic high-technology ventures, both small and medium-size, depending on feasibility studies.

To achieve these goals, it is necessary to formulate a consolidated plan, followed by legislative and logistic measures, and build a nationwide technology network.

## Global Exchange of Science Technology and Overseas Cooperation

Since it is imperative to deal actively with the trend toward globalization and liberalization of world markets establishing Korea as a distinct world trading power, we will pursue the following goals: to expand technology partnerships with advanced nations and overseas engagements as a way of supplementing domestic research capabilities, to promote source technology transfers, to expand South-South technology linkages, and to secure and broaden overseas markets and resources.

A policy shift will be necessary to treat technology as an incentive factor in economic development, rather than as a residual factor of capital investment, followed by establishment of an effective support system for the transfer of advanced technology and its management and distribution.

A professional institution will be either created or designated for research and consultation on and the arrangement and provision of technology transfers. Also it is being planned to minimize technology import barriers, encourage both joint technology imports and domestic distribution through research institutions collectively funded, import raw technology to be grafted with domestic research for export as finished products to the world market, rapidly absorb and apply source technology through overseas commitments to research institutions and venture capital, encourage foreign capital investment in technology-intensive businesses, and systematically link major overseas purchases with advanced technology transfers.

To support technology transfers effectively and institutionally, a "Technology Transfer Promotion Act" will be enacted. Technology trade will be widened with other countries. The multilateral technology partnerships will improve innovative research development capacity and promote joint research activities on a reciprocal basis.

The necessary human resources will be cultivated through exchanges of researchers, overseas training, information sharing, favorable investment conditions, and utilization of the 6,000 Korean scientists residing overseas.

Active participation in international organizations and regional technology partnerships will be supported, while ties with the European Economic Community and other regional cooperatives will be strengthened for joint research and training. Appropriate-technology projects will be undertaken in Pacific nations. Furthermore, additional specialists will be dispatched to various international organizations and intergovernmental bodies.

To contribute to South-South cooperation through expanded technology partnerships with developing nations, highly specialized technology trading with the six ASEAN nations will be sought. Gainful technology ties will also be pursued with resource-rich nations in Central and South America and in the Middle East. In addition, sharing technology with not yet developed nations, by inviting trainees and dispatching specialists, will commence.

## Technology-intensive Small and Medium-Size Businesses

With the advent of a "high tech" society, the consumer's standard of living will rise with their demands focusing around high quality, diversification, and individual tastes. Fast and broad changes in technology will result in technological specialization, multi-layered products, and a move away from mass production concepts. Profits through diversification rather than through mass production will begin. These changes in time and market environment will offer an opportune situation for specialized small and medium-size businesses to penetrate new markets and capitalize on new lines of services and products through fast developing technology.

Aided by the innovativeness and mobility unique to small and medium-size businesses, this economic force will lead a nationwide move to acquire new knowledge and intensified technology. They will be expected to function as the "viable majority" of the nation's economy, spearheading efforts to upgrade the industrial structure through vigorous export, growth, and employment activities.

This projection is not new. Since the start of the Fifth Republic, this government has selected and supported promising businesses and encouraged the formation of technology-intensive enterprises as part of a policy to promote small and medium-size businesses.

This effort is beginning to pay off. New businesses employing intensive technology are springing up and producing high-quality goods, while new technology developers and entrepreneurs are enjoying a ripe climate for their new ventures.

To assist existing small and medium-size businesses in employing advanced technology, the following measures are being taken: improved production processes, labor and material cost reduction, automation and advanced product development technology, improved quality and efficiency of marketed goods and new lines of products (product development technology), bracing affiliated businesses for technology-intensive restructuring trends, and policy support of technology innovators and new entrepreneurs to start new technology-intensive enterprises.

Top-priority support will be given to technological conversions of small and medium-size businesses deemed to be promising in their challenge to high-priced product development based on high-tech elements.

Also, the government will increase technological support of small and medium-size businesses through government-funded research institutions, while vigorously striving to secure top-notch experts and train specialists.

More specifically, the following measures are being considered:

- Technical problems spotted on site will be the government's target for a support and development drive.
- Public research institutions will share test-analysis equipment.

- High-tech elements will be applied to production process.
- Long-term assignment of research personnel to small and medium-size enterprises with exemption from military duty.
- Augmentation of the Business Technology Training Center to produce a core work force.
- Increased overseas training for key technicians.
- Utilization of retired top-level specialists.

In order to make up for the limitations of small and medium-size businesses in independently developing technology, aggressive link-ups will be promoted among corporations, either closely related or completely heterogenous, to achieve an upgraded, diversified, and systemized technology.

The government will support joint research activities through industrial technology research associations, partnerships between minor and major business sectors for the development of materials and parts, and designated research development projects.

An environment favorable to technology-intensive small and medium-size businesses will be created through increased support through various effective measures.

The following are specific implementation plans:

- Create demands for products, particularly those manufactured by small and medium-size enterprises employing high technology.
- Encourage government and semi-public agencies to purchase such products as priority items.
- Grant tax benefits for small and medium-size businesses.
- Increase venture capital and other technological aid, including unsecured grants.
- Encourage small and medium-size businesses to expand overseas operations.
- Foster promising small businesses to become a driving force for technological overhaul and continued economic development.

Basis Research: What It Is and Why It Is Important

Pure basic research seeking knowledge and theoretical and applied basic research leading to technological overhaul are two elements not only for scientific technological development but for economic and social development as well.

Since the 1960's, science has turned into technology, and technology into science, expediting the technological overhaul between basic research and product manufacturing. Now it is inevitable to implement protective measures for basic research.

It is urgently necessary to receive and apply the pure research results of advanced nations, and the still remaining unrestricted commodities, to our industry.

In view of the growing trend toward closer ties between basic research and its applications, we have to recognize the importance of basic research, which in turn breeds basic knowledge in observation, measuring devices, and extremely precise processing techniques.

Those in current basic research are exploring the ultimate depth of the material world, and the basics of life and are undertaking a journey into the unknown. Academic research activities are centered around the extremes, the microscopic world, and outer space. While individual creativity is essential, collective and interdisciplinary research efforts are vigorously undertaken with heavy investment in testing and research equipment.

Since basic research has a high rate of failure, takes an extended period of time, does not return individual awards, and shares collective compensation, governmental or public institutional support is more critical than market demand.

In previous years, Korea has failed to emphasize basic research due to its orientation to technology imports, adaptation, and application. But rapid technological advancement and protectionist measures make it critical to support new scientific technology development.

Basic research incentives will include:

- Revitalization of academic research projects.
- Long-term and sustained investment.
- Individual innovation through a free research environment.
- Linkage of basic research with production possibilities.

What's Happening Here and What We Should Do

Although universities account for 82 percent of advanced science-technology manpower, they focus on education rather than on research and suffer from a lack of research funding, insufficient equipment, and a lack of overall demands.

However, there is growing concern for basic research on the part of industry, academia, and government which creates a favorable environment for its future growth.

We expect to tackle these areas:

- Increase government aid for basic research to stabilize long-term research projects.

- Provide research opportunities for university personnel.
- Link the interests of academia, research institutions, and industry.

#### Long-Term Objectives

We will strive to utilize university resources, support academic research activities, and invest all research and development funds in selected areas, and encourage raising the number of research papers published in international journals to 15,000 (or 2 per scholar) by the year 2001 and secure bases for technological overhaul through basic research.

Here is a step-by-step scenario:

- Encourage university basic research, the specialization in individual fields of research, and the publication of 3,000 articles in international journals by 50 percent of the participating faculty.
- Establish a nationwide basic research network and collective research environment and publish 9,000 articles by 70 percent of participating faculty in international journals.
- Establish international basic research institutes and publish 15,000 articles by 90 percent of the participating faculty.

#### Implementation Strategy

Basic research will be allocated 15 percent of the entire research and development budget.

The Korean Science Foundation's fund will be increased from 20 billion won in 1986 to 200 billion won by 2001. University allocations of research funds will also rise to 15 percent by the year 2001.

Research grants will gradually increase for outstanding faculty, with their lab facilities modernized. Outstanding undergraduate and graduate students will be awarded sufficient scholarships for their education. We plan to create research professor chairs, distinguished professorships, and sabbatical leaves to foster research activities with equipment and facilities.

A Fundamental Research Center in Science will be established at the Daeduck Research Complex by 1990.

The Fundamental Research Center in Science will be comprised of institutes for mathematics, theoretical physics, molecular science, genetic science, and accelerated scientific research. There will be a limited number of full-time researchers and administrators, and domestic research grants will be actively supported.

The Korean Science Award, which it is hoped will become as prestigious as the Nobel Prize, will be established to honor basic research scientists. The award program will be sponsored by the Korean Science Foundation but will be administered by civilian panels. The award will total 50 million won to 100 million won with full research expenses for 3 years.

To promote technical information flow in and out of the country, various academic associations will receive government support. During the years 1987-91, the aid will total 1 billion won for 150 organizations per year. This will go up to 10 billion won per year (1992-96) and eventually to 15 billion won (1997-2001) per year.

In case local research requires rare and valuable facilities not available at home, the government will finance overseas research with major institutes.

#### Basic Sciences: Macro Complex Technology

As we enter the 21st century, the space, aviation, and maritime industries are emerging as principal concerns.

These high-technology oriented disciplines will lead other technologies in observation, exploration, development, and application.

Industrialized nations have already taken a position of bracing for future opportunities in those fields. The importance of these areas will be critical for the Korean economy as we approach the year 2000.

Since these fields demand heavy investment and diversified high-technology applications, we will refrain from all-out commitments. Instead, we will concentrate on marine resources, aviation parts, and remote exploration to secure specialists with a view to catching up with the pace of advanced nations at a later time.

#### Maritime Technology: What It Is and Why It Is Needed

Use of marine technology has gradually been shifted from fishing, military purposes, and transportation to marine biology, seawater resources, sea minerals, marine energy sources, and sea space.

Korea possesses 500,000 square km of sea territory, five times its land size, with 13,000 km of shoreline. This makes it necessary to turn to marine resource research to make up for limited land resources.

Sea research poses various handicaps due to its fluid nature, such as underwater communication, erosion of equipment and materials, darkness, and high pressure. Therefore, marine research will have to be proceeded by such basic scientific fields as electronics, machinery, civil engineering, material research, and mineral research.

#### Domestic Trends and Prospects

Marine research is expected to gain popularity, in view of population growth, as an alternative source of protein, expanded living space, and a substitute mineral source.

Marine industries, including fishing, shipbuilding, seafaring, and marine engineering, now gross 6 trillion won, or 1 percent of the GNP. This is expected to grow to 20 trillion by the year 2000, which mandates technological support.

Korea's marine technology is commensurate to that of advanced nations when it comes to fishing, sea transportation, and shipbuilding, but it lags behind in areas of exploration, marine energy, and marine minerals.

Short-term incentives will be given to scientific research on shoreline peripheries, marine biology, and use of sea space for territorial purposes. Intermediate and long-term concerns will be centered around seabed minerals, marine energy sources, and basic technology to expedite those fields.

#### Technology development goals:

The government aims at core technology support for peripheral marine resources, environmental data banks, and marine resource development.

We will proceed in three phases.

Step 1. 1) Marine resource and environmental research in the Yellow Sea and the South Sea; 2) selected fish and shellfish cultivation; and 3) marine mineral and energy development through imported technology.

Step 2. 1) Resource and environmental research in the East Sea and inventory of resources and environment around the peninsula; 2) improved genetic engineering products and high-density cultivation techniques; and 3) marine mineral and energy development.

Step 3. 1) Marine data banks; 2) marine nurseries around the shoreline; and 3) application of marine mineral and energy technologies to industry.

#### Major projects:

The government will actively support those areas where: 1) market prospects are promising with existing technology and manpower; 2) we can foresee superiority in comparison with advanced nations; and 3) economic and social benefits or national security concerns are involved, such as marine biology, marine mineral, marine energy, sea space, and environmental preservation.

Marine biology resources: High-priced fish and shellfish nurseries, sea ranches along the shoreline, and updated fishing information network.

Marine mineral and mineral energy: Seabed construction materials and minerals, deep-sea mineral resources, seawater research, marine petroleum exploration, and tidal electric power research.

Marine space and environmental preservation: Compilation of Korea's marine resource environment map, upgraded marine engineering, and intermediate and long-term marine meteorological forecast systems.

#### Marine biology resources:

Advanced marine biology resource development technology is necessary, in the face of new maritime management concepts, emerging resource-oriented nationalism, pollution of fishing sites, and reduced fishery stocks due to abuses, to upgrade fishing industry product lines.



As a means of increasing the food supply, the government will support the cultivation of high-quality fish and sell fish products through genetic engineering, expansion of nurseries, formation of massive fishing sites including artificial reefs, and continuous dissemination of information on fishing conditions.

Both the government and private sectors will participate in developing a joint system with technical assistance from the National Fishery Promotion Center and Marine Research Center.

Table 1 shows major research projects.

Table 1. Major Marine Biology Research Projects

Project A. High-quality Fish, Shellfish Nursery

- Step 1. Improved quality and new products
- Step 2. Technology for high-density cultivation and improved management
- Step 3. High-quality fish and shellfish nurseries as major industry

Project B. Sea Ranches Along Shoreline

- Step 1. Artificial reefs, environmental control
- Step 2. Resource cultivation techniques
- Step 3. Creation of large fishing sites

Project C. Fishing Information System

- Step 1. Research on forecast and update models
- Step 2. Weekly forecasting techniques
- Step 3. Broad-area fishing condition reports around the clock

Marine mineral and marine energy technology:

The government plans to increase domestic production of minerals currently imported and overseas development of strategic minerals, reduce import dependency for energy, and develop tidal electric power technology.

This calls for the utilization of peripheral sea materials for construction and the extraction from seawater of such chemicals as zirconium, uranium, bromine, magnesium, manganese, and hot water mineral beds.

We also plan to import technology to develop an appropriate-size tidal power plant to capitalize on its environmental safety.

These projects will be jointly carried out by the government and private sectors and also with partners from advanced industrial powers.

Marine mineral research will be assigned to the Energy Research Institute, the Petroleum Development Corporation, and the Marine Research Institute under government auspices. Meanwhile, marine energy will solicit assistance from France, England, and Canada. The Korean Electric

Power Corporation and Marine Research Institute will carry out research activities.

Major research activities are outlined in Table 2.

Table 2: Major Research Areas in the Ocean Minerals and Energy

Project A. Peripheral Seabed Construction Material and Applicable Mineral Resources.

- Step 1. Inventory of construction material and usable minerals
- Step 2. Collection and refinement technology
- Step 3. Industrial application

Project B. Deep-sea Mineral Resource Development

- Step 1. Deep-sea mineral inventory
- Step 2. Intensive study of promising areas
- Step 3. Acquisition of mining rights and development of mining techniques

Project C. Extraction of Seawater Resources

- Step 1. Seawater uranium extraction
- Step 2. Seawater uranium extraction and separation process
- Step 3. Construction of prototype plant and development of mining techniques

Project D. Continental Shelf Petroleum Exploration

- Step 1. Intensive exploration of continental shelf mining areas
- Step 2. Analysis of exploration data
- Step 3. Support of commercial production

Project E. Tidal Electric Power Plant

- Step 1. Importation of technology and its application
- Step 2. Technical preparation for construction of Yellow Sea tidal plant
- Step 3. Completion of technology for construction of tidal power plant

Marine space uses and environmental preservation:

We will monitor environmental conditions within our jurisdiction and prepare to utilize marine space and create a pleasant marine environment. Also, we plan to establish a marine resource environment data bank, import marine construction technology, and install an intermediate and long-term marine forecast system. The government will initiate the ventures while research tasks will be carried out by the Marine Research Institute, Machinery Research Institute, National Environment Research Institute, and National Fishery Promotion Institute.

Table 3 shows a step-by-step project implementation plan:

Table 3: Ocean Utilization and Environmental Preservation

Project A. Compilation of Korean Peripheral Ocean Environment Maps

- Step 1. Yellow Sea and South Sea marine resource environment map
- Step 2. East Sea and Peninsular marine resource inventory map
- Step 3. Marine data bank system

Project B. Upgrading of Marine Engineering Technology

- Step 1. Shoreline structural study
- Step 2. Near-sea structural study
- Step 3. Deep-sea structural study

Project C. Intermediate and Long-term Marine Forecast System

- Step 1. Marine forecast model study
- Step 2. Completion of sea disaster and accident forecast system
- Step 3. Intermediate and long-term forecast system

Strategy

We will enact a marine development basic code, administer research grants through policy coordination, and establish a Marine Development Review Board.

To facilitate effective role-sharing among various research agencies, the government will designate the following institutions for specific assignments: the Marine Research Institute will develop marine exploration and basic technology; the National Fishery Promotion Institute, the Machinery Research Institute, and the Energy Resource Research Institute will concentrate on marine biology, marine engineering, and seabed mining; and the industry will pursue the export of marine plant technology, high-yield fish farms, pearl cultivation, and seabed mineral resource research. Research vessels, manpower, and equipment owned by universities and research agencies will be made available to all groups involved.

It is also planned to encourage international joint research activities.

On a long-term basis, we will invite research, instructional, and industrial entities to form a "marinopolis" at an appropriate seashore site to achieve collective output.

Aviation Technology: What It Is and Why We Need It

The aviation industry encompasses various high-technology aspects such as construction, propulsion, engining, electronics, material processing, systems management, stability, and reliability management which have a direct impact on affiliated fields such as machinery, electricity, electronics, metallurgy, materials, automobile, and the aerospace industry.

Since international trade items are becoming smaller in size and lighter in weight, air cargo volume is on the rise, allowing a continued increase of passenger loads, a trend projected to continue at a growing pace into the year 2000.

The aviation industry is actively pursuing international joint development and international role-sharing. Thus Korea is provided with an opportunity to acquire valuable aviation technology and to be designated as a major aviation partner.

But we have to bear in mind that the aviation industry takes time to grow. Furthermore, high-risk factors are involved and large investments are required. This consideration turns our attention to international joint development projects suitable for our conditions and capabilities. The promotion of the parts industry is also necessary so that we may seek strategic, phased growth.

It should also be emphasized that aviation is critical not only as a major industry but as a vital part of our national defense.

#### World Trend Prospects

World aviation leaders including the United States, France, England, and West Germany are promoting their aviation industries from a national strategy standpoint.

Throughout the world, the aviation industry vigorously pursues international joint development and international role-sharing activities to avoid the risk factors in market security and research development. Meanwhile parts production is transferred to developing nations.

As advanced nations turn their attention to the aerospace industry and Japan emerges as a new aviation power, the role of Asian countries, particularly Korea, is expected to expand tremendously.

#### Domestic Trends and Tasks

We are experiencing a growth in aviation parts and maintenance demands, with strong prospects for trade, parts orders, international joint production, and other aviation export activities.

Since the mid-1970's, Korea has concentrated on the technologies of military and civilian aircraft maintenance, with partial-assembly, production, and export capabilities attained for helicopters and jet fighters. In addition, jet engines are being assembled locally, with small and large engines being produced in joint international ventures. However, design technology remains in the research stage.

In sum, domestic aviation will have to be promoted as a strategic export industry based on acquired technology and parts production experience, while cementing technological foundations through international joint research.

## Technology Goals

Aviation technology will focus on the parts industry for its export posture and domestic production of small and medium-size aircraft.

Phase 1 will emphasize mainline parts production with overseas assistance, aerodynamic design, aircraft structural design, and other basic technologies for the design and production of Korean-made light aircraft.

Phase 2 calls for the development of integrated materials, design technology engines, and gauge development.

Phase 3 will see the independent design of small and medium-size aircraft and their production without foreign assistance.

## Priority Tasks

These are priority projects: in the parts area, we will develop aircraft structural parts, engine parts, electronic parts, gauges, and auxiliary devices; while experimenting with basic technology, design technology production capability and performance for small and medium-size short-distance take-off landing aircraft will be improved.

## Parts Manufacturing

While underdeveloped countries will be concentrating on maintenance, assembly, parts production, and model design, we will work on the domestic production of parts and the upgrading of technology for aviation parts for export purposes.

To meet this end, we will acquire high technology through international joint-production efforts so that aviation parts of export quality may be produced domestically under civilian initiatives. Such initiatives can be backed up by material technology with joint funding from the government and private sectors.

Table 4 shows major projects.

Table 4. Major Parts Development Projects

### Project A. Aircraft Body and Parts

- Step 1. Domestic production of specialized alloy parts
- Step 2. Application of synthetic, light-weight materials
- Step 3. Domestic production of all major parts and aircraft bodies

### Project B. Engines and Parts

- Step 1. Domestic production of key engine parts
- Step 2. Development of materials for aircraft engines
- Step 3. Domestic design of jet engine parts

#### Project C. Aviation Electronic Parts

- Step 1. Communication and aviation equipment
- Step 2. Fly-by-wire technology
- Step 3. Production of equipment

#### Project D. Gauges and Auxiliary Equipment

- Step 1. Aviation gauges, power gauges
- Step 2. Fuel pressure gauge
- Step 3. Domestic production of all major parts and gauges

#### High-powered Small-medium Aircraft with Short Takeoff-Landing Capacity

We will develop high-powered short takeoff-landing (STOL) small and medium-size transport aircraft whose demand is expected to rise in the 1990's both at home and in the world civilian aviation market.

During the 1980's, we will gather information, train specialists, and strengthen design capabilities while supporting joint research among government, industry, and academic and research agencies and acquiring advanced technology through joint research with other nations.

#### Table 5. Short Take-off Landing Aircraft Projects

##### Project A. Basic Technology

- Step 1. Aviation, propulsion, and structural technologies
- Step 2. Control noise abatement and test assessment technologies
- Step 3. Study of new technology

##### Project B. Design Technology

- Step 1. Aviation and propulsion technologies

##### Project C. Production and Performance Tests

- Step 1. CAD/CAM parts production, parts processing, aerodynamics
- Step 2. CAD/CAM parts production, detailed design, projectile tests
- Step 3. Prototype production, test flights, mass production

#### Strategy

The Aviation Industry Promotion Council will work with the government to formulate development plans including a specialized research institute to develop basic aviation technology.

Major corporations and small and medium-size businesses will be aligned to upgrade parts processing skills for an expanded market. Furthermore, advanced technology will be imported through international joint research and joint projects, and a skilled work force will be nurtured through the expansion of aviation-related curriculums at colleges and universities.

The Aviation Industry Promotion Council will be established to take charge of the following assignments: the industry sector will be charged with parts production, body and engine assembly, and STOL manufacturing; research institutes will gather and distribute technical information; and universities will concentrate on basic research to produce skilled work force.

#### Space Technology: What It Means to Us and the World

Space technology is a "macro science" encompassing various high-technology disciplines and requiring long-term heavy investments. Space industry will undoubtedly have a technological ripple effect on tomorrow's economic structure.

We note that major industrialized nations are engaged in intense competition to upgrade technology, gain a headstart in space development market, and achieve military superiority. We are also observing the actual application of space technology to communication transmission, information gathering, resource inventory, space warfare, and space bases for industrial uses.

#### Domestic Trends and Tasks

Although Korea has developed a short range rocket, operated a communications satellite ground station, and manufactured satellite broadcast receiving devices, space technology is still in the infant stage.

There is virtually no research or experience in rocket boosters, satellite remote exploration, space science, and space industry materials.

Space science requires a persistent accumulation of multi-disciplinary advanced technologies and long-term planning and investment. It would be more practical for Korea to begin with applicable technology, such as remote exploration and the training of a skilled work force, through technological cooperation with advanced nations.

#### Technology Development and Priority Projects

The principal objective of space development is the acquisition of space technology through the application of space knowledge, acquisition of space observatory data, and participation in the international scientific satellites.

Priority projects will include: space observatory technology, space environment research, and scientific satellite development and launching.

More specifically, we will support the following areas: space observatory technology, space environment research, remote exploration, basic space engineering research, design, production and operation of an observatory rocket, manufacture of a small launching rocket, and participation in international scientific satellite projects.

## Space Observatory Technology

We plan to set in place optic and radio observatory techniques including balloons, weather rockets, and science satellites. Designated research institutes will work with universities. Observatory equipment will be jointly developed and produced by civilian and foreign companies.

### Table 6. Space Appliance Technology

#### Project A. Space Observatory Technology

- Step 1. Optic and radio observatory technology, space data analysis and processing
- Step 2. Large telescopic system
- Step 3. Balloon observatory system, surveillance rockets, rocket operation, and science satellite operation

#### Project B. Space Environment Research

- Step 1. Astrophysics, earth science, atmospheric science, and related fields

## Applicable Space Technology

We will develop satellite surveillance techniques for weather information, resource exploration, land-use data, and farming conditions.

We will also encourage remote surveillance data management under government auspices. The Ministries of Science and Technology, Agriculture and Fishery, Energy Resources, and Communications will be actively involved.

### Table 7. Development of Applicable Space Technologies

#### Project A. Remote Surveillance

- Step 1. Remote surveillance data communication system, image processing system, census system
- Step 2. Gathering of remote surveillance data through space telemetry, special image processing technique
- Step 3. High-caliber analysis of remote surveillance data, domestic processing of image data

#### Project B. Space Environment and Basic Research

- Step 1. Basic concept of space engineering
- Step 2. Genetic impact of space environment
- Step 3. Testing of material engineering in space

## Development and Launching of Science Satellite

We will participate in international efforts to design, manufacture, and launch science satellite while accumulating necessary technology under government auspices with domestic research teams to be appointed.



## How We Will Proceed

Overall planning and research supervision will fall on the existing Astro Space Science Research Institute. Universities will take on astronomical observation and other basic research. The Systems Engineering Center, Energy Resource Research Center, and Electronic Communications Research Center will be assigned application research. Expensive equipment and basic facilities will be purchased and used jointly.

A coordinating council will be formed encompassing government agencies, research centers, industry institutions, and universities.

The government will bear primary funding responsibilities, with related agencies and industry sectors encouraged to participate in these efforts.

In addition, we will actively take part in international space development projects, joint research efforts to import advanced technology, and the training of skilled personnel, while collecting information on activities overseas.

13270/12781

CSO: 4107/068

## N. KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

### YOUTHS URGED TO LEAD THIRD 7-YEAR PLAN

Pyongyang NODONG CHONGNYON in Korean 8 Jan 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Let Us Win the Honor of the Shock Brigade and Vanguard in the First-Year Struggle for Implementation of the Third 7-Year Plan!"]

[Text] At the 12th Session of the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the party, the party and our people's great leader Comrade Kim Il-song set forth the grand platform of the Third 7-Year Plan and presented militant tasks that must be carried out this, the first year of the plan, in the socialist economic construction.

Today the entire people and youths throughout the country, whose hearts are filled with the great honor and endless excitement of consistently revering the great leader as the president of the country, are vigorously launching the majestic first-year struggle for implementation of the Third 7-Year Plan.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song taught as follows:

"The Third 7-Year Plan is a grand economic construction plan designed to strengthen the economic power of the country and to raise to epochmaking heights the living standard of the people; it represents a great goal that must be attained in order to effect a decisive transformation in the struggle to achieve the complete victory of socialism."

The new milestone set forth by the great leader for the complete victory of socialism and the grand objectives of the Third 7-Year Plan set forth by him are endlessly filling the hearts of our people and youth with great excitement and forcefully calling for their successful and distinguished labor service.

During the period under review, our people and youth, upholding the banner of the chuche ideology under the judicious leadership of the great leader and the dear leader comrade, energetically launched the struggle to implement the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the party and scored great successes in socialist economic construction.

Our chuche-oriented industries, whose foundation was firmly established on the cause of independence, attained an unceasing growth and its productivity increased without comparison. In the field of agriculture, the chuche-oriented farming method was successfully developed under the majestic ray of

the socialist agrarian thesis and the agricultural production rapidly increased. Thanks to the heroic struggle of our people and youth, a great number of monumental creations that would last forever were erected; scientific research works and technical revolution were forcefully pushed; and thereby the chuchezation, modernization, and scientific rationalization of the national economy embarked on a new and higher stage.

Our party set forth the grand platform of the Third 7-Year Plan on the basis of this very success, and it clearly set forth the direction and tasks of this year's socialist economic construction in order to realize successfully the platform.

The central tasks of this year's national economy plan are: to normalize the production in all fields of the national economy by means of effecting a fresh upsurge in fuel and power industry production and in the production of iron and steel materials; to raise the standard of popular livelihood by means of increasing the production of grains and fish and of accelerating the light industry revolution; and to launch energetically the construction of major electric lines in order to solve completely the problem of food, clothing, and shelter for the people. These tasks represent the lofty plans and ideas of the great leader and the dear leader comrade which are designed to attain the new grand prospective targets of the socialist construction by means of displaying overall strength of our country's independent national economy and to improve in an epochmaking way the culture and material life of the people.

Today the members and youth of our Socialist Working Youth League [SWYL], upholding the appeals of the 12th session of the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the party, are faced with the honorable task in which they must successfully render distinguished labor service in implementing this year's militant tasks.

We have embarked on the initial march in implementing the Third 7-Year Plan. To begin means that half the task is done, so it is very important how we tackle the first-year battle.

In this year, we must open a breakthrough, in a see-we-did-it way, in implementing the Third 7-Year Plan. Thus we must effect an epochmaking advance in materializing the 10 major prospective targets of the socialist economic construction that was set forth in the Sixth Congress of the party.

The great leader and the dear leader comrade expect that those youths who are stout, fiercely energetic, and valorous will lead the vanguard of the struggle for implementing the prospective new plan and play the roles of vanguard and shock brigade.

Keeping deep in their hearts their endless loyalty toward the party and the leader, all the members of the SWYL and youths must unconditionally and thoroughly carry out their first-year militant task of implementing the prospective plan.

The most important problem above anything else, in this year's economic construction is to develop rapidly the extracting industry, the power industry, metal industry, machine industry, and traffic and transportation.

Giving priority to the key industries, including the extracting industry, power industry, and metal industry, and traffic and transportation is a basic principle governing socialist economic construction. It is a prerequisite for fully displaying the stupendous production potential of today's national economy.

Members of the SWYL and youths in these fields, being deeply selfconscious about this demand of the party and the grave mission and responsibility they have in face of the current era and revolution, must arouse themselves in this significant year and must carry out with honor the shock brigade roles in their struggle to effect a decisive transformation in the production of coal, minerals, iron and steel, and machine equipment.

In particular, members of the SWYL and youths, who are responsible for supplying the raw materials and provisions to industries, in the field of coal industry must uphold with their hearts the party's demand that the first, second, and third priorities be given to the coal industry, must set their hearts for this cause with determination for this year, and must dig more coal and send them to various fields of the national economy without delay.

Improving the popular livelihood is a supreme principle that governs activities of our party. It is one of the central tasks that must be carried out in the socialist economic construction of this year.

There is no such thing as satisfaction in the lives of the people. The more the revolution advances and society develops, the higher the material and cultural demands of the people become. Therefore, our party always take a great interest in improving the people's livelihood and is making unstinted investments in this field.

Members of the SWYL and youths in those fields directly connected with the popular livelihood, including light industry and the fishery industry, must see to it that there will be a great innovation in this field by means of unconditionally and thoroughly carrying out the militant tasks assigned to them with a stand that fits the masters who are responsible for the popular livelihood. The most important factor in doing so is how firmly members of the SWYL and youths in this field hold on to the struggle with the spirit of devotedly serving the people.

Members of the SWYL and youths must produce more goods of better quality for the cause of the light industry revolution. They must catch more tons of fish and process them in time and without causing waste and supply fishery products of higher nutrition. They must successfully develop the chuche-oriented farming method and thereby fully display the heroic and distinguished services of the youths of the new generation in bringing about great bumper crops in this land this year.

This year we must energetically accelerate the construction of major electric lines.

In compliance with the great plans of the party in our country, the important unit constructions of the socialist economic construction are being forcefully launched on an unprecedented scale.

Completing the important unit constructions ahead of schedule as soon as possible is of great significance in attaining the 10 major prospective targets of socialist economic construction set forth by the party and in improving the popular livelihood.

Members of the SWYL and youths must accelerate more energetically those unit constructions which are of important significance in completely solving the problem of food, clothing, and shelters of the people, including construction of the Sunch's Vinalon Complex and the Sariwon Potassic Fertilizer Complex. They must fully display the mass-oriented heroism in the construction of those creative erections, including new power plants, including the T'aech'on Power Plant, the second-stage construction of the Kimch'aek Iron Work Complex, the project designed to expand the productivity of the Tanch'on Magnesia Plant, the reclaimed tideland construction, and urban constructions.

The seething battleground is living stage of struggle for our youths. It is a value-laden battleground where the miracles and heroic and distinguished services which will startle the world are being created.

Members of the SWYL and youths must actively infiltrate those fields in which hard and difficult work are required, must achieve ahead of schedule this year's plan of the national economy and all the prospective targets of the Third 7-Year Plan, and thereby must demonstrate the due posture of the church-oriented Korean youths.

Today, embarking on the first-year battle of the grand Third 7-Year Plan, our party is demanding that we live and launch a struggle with that spirit and mettle with which we shattered all kinds of passivity and conservatism after the war and with which we launched the great Ch'ollima march.

When we launch a struggle with the revolutionary spirit of Ch'ollima and the revolutionary spirit of the speed battle, no task we face is unattainable, no matter how stupendous it may be.

This represents the revolutionary faith which our people acquired deep in their hearts through life experiences.

Members of the SWYL and youths must highly display, with that mettle they had when they were effecting the great Ch'ollima upsurge after the war, their endless loyalty toward the party and the leader and the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle and must lead the March in bringing about a great upsurge in socialist economic construction.

In order to implement successfully the honorable and stupendous task with

which we are confronted this year, it is imperative to enhance the militant functions and role of the SWYL organizations and functionaries of the SWYL.

The SWYL organizations and functionaries must thoroughly establish among their rank and file the party's leadership system and steel-like discipline, must equip themselves with the posture and resources which fit youth functionaries, must aggressively launch, with more mettle, their organizational and political work, and thereby must see to it that the sound of revolutionary drums echoes through every battleground in which youths live and work and in which fresh miracles and innovations will prevail.

The power of youths is endless and inexhaustible. When they are correctly mobilized, mountains can be moved and even a sea can be reclaimed.

The SWYL organizations and functionaries must make the youths lead the vanguard of the movement to win the red flag of three revolutions, must forcefully launch the youths' mass-oriented innovation movement, including the activities of the youth shock brigades, must thereby open break-throughs for attacks, and thereby must see to it that youths achieve the honor of the vanguard in materializing the chuchelization, modernization, and scientific rationalization of the national economy by means of stepping up the activities of "technological innovation youth shock brigades" and "the automation youth shock brigade."

On the other hand, all youths must efficiently operate facilities, must put their unit's facilities in full operation, must thereby normalize production at a high level, and must establish the revolutionary lifestyle in which plans are unconditionally and thoroughly carried out by day, by 10-day period, and by month. In particular, active guidance must be given to them so that youth enterprises, youth worksites, youth workteams, and other youth entities may lead the van in this year's struggle.

Our prospect is brilliant and the struggle targets and the method of their implementation are crystal clear.

As long as we are enjoying the judicious leadership of the great leader and the dear leader comrade and our people's unification and unity firmly established around the party and the leader and the powerful independent national economy, we will be able to carry out successfully any stupendous struggle tasks.

Blood-tingling members of the SWYL and youths! Let us launch, like a single person, into the movement to win "the Youth Bonfire Award for Completion of the Third 7-Year Plan" and become banner carriers and youth heroes in the value-laden struggle designed to make the era of the labor party resplendent.

7989/12913  
CSO: 4110/066

## N. KOREA/MILITARY AFFAIRS

### POLITICAL SCIENCE PROFESSOR VIEWS POLITICAL-MILITARY COMPLEX

Seoul PUKHAN in Korean Feb 87 pp 84-91

[Article by Chong Yong-sok, professor of international politics, Tan'guk University: "Political Role and Internal Conflicts of the North Korean Military Establishment"]

[Text] The communist regime in North Korea, like that in other countries, believes that "political power comes out of the muzzle of a gun" in accordance with the theory of Bolshevik revolution. North Korea's communists declare that political power cannot be established through the "election game" but only through organized violent struggle.

#### Communists' Tactics in Capturing Political Power

The theory of armed struggle, like the one advocating that political power comes out of the muzzle of a gun may be traced back to Marx, Lenin, and Mao Zedong. In the "Communist Manifesto" which he wrote together with Engels, Marx advocated a Bolshevik revolution as a means of overthrowing the capitalist system. He emphatically asserted that the Bolshevik revolution is the only way of overthrowing a capitalist society and establishing a socialist state.

Lenin, too, was a believer in the Bolshevik revolution; he was the person who overthrew Imperial Russia and attained power. He warned that, as long as the capitalist system exists, wars against communist states are inevitable. Lenin asserted that "as long as the hostility between socialism and capitalism exists, war is inevitable.... The war against imperialism must be recognized as a continuation of politics through violent means.... The national liberation war is, under all circumstances, a war of justice."

Next, Mao Zedong, too, advocated a theory of seizing political power through armed force. He emphatically asserted that "the key mission and supreme form of revolution is a seizure of political power through armed force and the solution of problems by means of war." He also emphasized that "an important form of struggle in China is war and an important form of organization there is military force." He then emphasized that "political power comes out of the muzzle of a gun."

North Korea's Kim Il-song is not an exception. He asserted that "one cannot attain power without a weapon in one's hands." He emphatically said that "only when one takes up arms, can one win power. Without taking up arms, power is unattainable.... In order to seize the reigns of government, one must launch an armed struggle; one cannot seize the reigns of government through elections.... The most positive and most decisive form of struggle of all is an organized armed struggle, and national liberation war."

When we say that all the communists, including Marx, Lenin, Mao Zedong, and Kim Il-song, regarded the Bolshevik revolution and armed struggle as a means of capturing power, one can fully understand the political importance attached to the armed forces in North Korea. Mao Zedong even went so far as to say that "war is an important form of struggle, and an armed force is an important component in organization." Thus he alluded to the fact that the organization and the armed strength of the armed forces are playing an essential role in the PRC.

With his frank confession that "in order to seize the reigns of government, one must launch an armed struggle; playing an election game cannot effect a governmental takeover," Kim Il-song, too, admits his reliance on armed forces for maintaining the reigns of government.

#### North Korea's Maintaining the Reigns of Government Using the Muzzle of a Gun

There is a clear-cut motive for the communist countries, including North Korea, to reject "the election game" and put emphasis on armed struggle as a means of capturing the reigns of government.

First, one cannot help noting that the only means [for them] to seize the reigns of government is by force. The communists believe that their only means of overthrowing the capitalist system and establishing a communist regime is an armed riot; so they just cannot help declaring that political power "comes out of the muzzle of a gun." Second, in order to maintain the reigns of government seized by force, one must rely on guns. When the reigns of government are seized through "a game of force" and not "an election game" governmental legitimacy cannot be continued by peaceful means.

A communist regime is a single party dictatorship; therefore, it can be maintained only by oppressive rule. As long as oppression and suppression persist, the people's discontent and resistance is resurgent. In order to suppress such surging discontent and resistance and maintain the reigns of government, communist countries have no other choice but to rely on armed force.

Thus, in order for communist countries to capture the reigns of government, it is required for them to launch a struggle by force; and, in order to sustain the reigns of government captured by force, it has become indispensable to employ force. Thus, we can say that "a communist regime comes out of the muzzle of a gun and is maintained by means of the muzzle of a gun. It would be correct for one to say that Kim Il-song exposed the tense realities he faced,



in which he could not keep up the reigns of government without wielding weapons, when he declared that "one cannot seize the reigns of government without taking up arms."

Therefore, in North Korea, the role of the armed forces does not simply mean the simple defense of territory. The military even plays a political role. As long as political power comes out of the muzzle of a gun and the reigns of government thus seized must be maintained by means of the muzzle of a gun, the armed forces which carry guns with them must be the tools of politics.

The importance of the role of the military in maintaining the reigns of government may be easily explained by the activities of Kim Chong-il and O Chin-u. Although Kim Chong-il is only 45 years of age this year, he is always accompanied by O Chin-u who is 77, who acts as an attendant, when Kim Chong-il appears on official occasions. The present position of O Chin-u is minister of the People's Armed Forces, a position like our minister of national defense.

#### Succession of Power and Militarized Society of North Korea

O Chin-u was born in Pukch'ong, South Hamgyong Province, in 1910; and it is said that he served in Kim Il-song's guerrilla unit in 1935. In 1954, he served as the commander of the 3d Division of the People's Armed Forces. Then after successively holding the posts of army corps commander, chief of staff of the Air Force Headquarters, army group commander, chief of staff of the People's Armed Forces, member and secretary of the political committee of the Central Committee of the party, member of the Supreme People's Assembly, he rose to the post of minister of the People's Armed Forces.

O Chin-u is the person who assumes the whole responsibility for the communist forces of North Korea. He is one of the so-called "revolutionary generation" who took part in the guerrilla activities with Kim Il-song. Kim Chong-il is always accompanied by him, though he is nearly 80 years old. He acts as an attendant secretary, when Kim Chong-il goes out to "on-the-spot guidance" or inspection tours. Because O Chin-u always accompanies Kim Chong-il wherever he may appear, there is now a saying on the tongues of people in North Korea: "O Chin-u is playing in the bosom of Kim Chong-il."

There are reasons for the fact that Kim Chong-il is accompanied by O Chin-u, like an attendant secretary, on official occasions. The accompaniment is designed to plant in the minds of the military and residents of North Korea the image of O Chin-u upholding Kim Chong-il, accompanying him like a shadow. As already pointed out, in North Korea, like any other communist country, the reigns of government are maintained with the muzzle of a gun. It means that the military with their guns are maintaining the reigns of government. By taking with him old O Chin-u, who is in the position of boss of the armed forces, like his own private secretary, Kim Chong-il is dramatically demonstrating his close ties with the military, and creating the impression that O Chin-u is advising him with his close attendance. By doing this, he is trying to establish the impression that he is in command of the military.

Therefore, Kim Chong-il's constant attendance by O Chin-u reflects the fact

that the role of the military is important for his succession to power. Namely, it means that Kim Chong-il's succession to power and his holding it must also be sustained by the muzzle of a gun.

The importance of North Korea's military is not simply the seizing and maintaining the reigns of government. The excessive emphasis on the role of the military has militarized the whole society of North Korea. Children are receiving military training starting from kindergarten. Instead of childhood games, children learn to play a game of drawing pictures of "Yankees" with big noses and "destroying" them. The military training is thoroughly imposed on them throughout the course of their education from elementary, middle, and high schools to colleges and universities. It would not be wrong to say that the focus of education in North Korea is not so much educating the person as in the free world, as "making them into soldiers."

"The role of the military, which may be expressed in the phrase 'it comes out of the muzzle of a gun and is supported by the same gun,' in seizing the reigns of government and holding on to them is attested to in North Korea, where Kim Chong-il, aged 40, is accompanied by O Chin-u, an old man who is in the position of boss of the armed forces, as his attendant. This has established an image of his having command of the military, and has militarized the society."

Furthermore, North Korea has set forth as an imminent policy the line of so-called Four Major Military Policies. That is: "converting the entire army into a cadre army"; "the modernization of the entire military forces"; "arming the entire people"; and "turning the whole country into a fortress." Among these, "arming the entire people" means to arm all the people, regardless of age or sex, and to give them military training. Such a practice symbolically demonstrates that all the residents have been militarized. In addition to these, the phenomenon of militarization is also conspicuous in the arena of arts and sports, including movies, dancing, drama, music, athletics, and recreation. In dancing, dancers are often dressed in military uniforms; and in music, the melody resembles a military-type song. It cannot be denied that such a phenomenon is sufficient to prove that the entire society has been militarized.

#### Reason Why the Military Is Placed Directly Under the Party

The fact that Kim Il-song said that one cannot seize the reigns of government without taking up arms reflects the fact that North Korea's power structure cannot function without the armed forces. Therefore, the armed forces are the core of Kim Il-song's power and the hands and feet of the North Korean Workers Party which is leading the communist revolution. According to Article 37 of the old Constitution of North Korea, the prerogative of supreme command of the People's Armed Forces belonged to the chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly. However, this prerogative was simply a matter of formality. Section 11 of Article 55 of the old Constitution provides the delegation of the right to organize and command the armed forces and appoint generals to the head of the cabinet; so the one who actually had the prerogative of supreme command was the head of the cabinet.

However, the new Constitution which was newly enacted in 1972 established a presidential system and entrusted "the president" with the prerogative of supreme command of the armed forces. According to Article 93 of the new Constitution, it is recorded that "the president shall be the supreme commander of the overall armed forces of North Korea and the chairman of the Military Commission; and he shall be in command of the state and all the armed forces." In the old Constitution, control over the armed forces was decentralized, although it was a mere formality, among the Supreme People's Assembly and the head of the cabinet, whereas, in the new Constitution, it is totally given to an individual, Kim Il-song, president. Such a change as this may be regarded as a measure designed to establish a foundation for the efficient promotion of idolatry of Kim Il-song.

In line with the fact that communist countries are ruled through single party dictatorships, the military of North Korea must also be under the command of the party. The relationship between the North Korean Workers Party and the armed forces is clearly defined in Chapter 8 of the Convention of the Korean Workers Party which was adopted at the Fourth Party Congress held in 1961. Article 66 of the party convention clearly provided that "the Korean People's Army is an armed force of the Korean Workers Party." Article 66 clearly provided that "the party committee of the Korean People's Army shall be directly under the jurisdiction of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party and carry out work under its control." Such a provision of the party convention specifically laid down that the armed forces shall be directly placed under the Central Committee of the party and be under the control of the party. It is also a provision setting forth a principle: "the party must have control of the muzzle of the gun."

There are some important reasons why North Korea places the military, which carries guns in its hands, under the party's complete control while entirely relying on the muzzle of a gun for the capture and maintenance of the reigns of government. First, it has something to do with the prevention of a military coup d'etat. Since it relies on the military forces to provide incentives, including the capture of the reigns of government and the implementation of revolution, North Korea has tremendously increased its military strength. The ratio of the military strength of North Korea to its population is said to be the second highest in the world. It is entirely possible that the military of North Korea could launch a coup d'etat with its mighty force. Thus North Korea has forced the military under the direct control of the party in order to watch and control it completely so that it would not be able to launch a coup d'etat.

The second reason for subordinating the military to the party has to be to make education efficient. It is designed to make political education of the armed forces efficient. Since North Korea is employing armed forces as a tool of revolution, it is required that they be equipped with the political resources of an advance point guard of revolution. North Korea subordinated the armed forces to the party in order to give them continuous education and brain washing to improve their political reinforcement.

The third reason is the theory of party superiority. It is based on the proposition that the armed forces should be placed under the control of the

party which is the supreme command station for implementing revolution, since the armed forces also exist to implement the revolutionary tasks. The logic is that in order to keep up the perfect command system of a one party establishment, the armed forces, too, should be absolutely obedient to the party.

#### The Establishment of Political Supervisory Organizations and the Relationship Between the Party and the Military

The armed forces of North Korea, which is nothing but the "party's armed forces," are under the twofold and threefold control and supervision of the party. There are manifold political supervisory organizations established within the military. They are the party committee of the Army, political executive organizations, political secretaries, and the SWYL (Socialist Working Youth League). They thoroughly supervise the armed forces' movement by directly implementing or confirming the mobilization of forces, the indoctrination and training plans, and other orders. Furthermore, they can intervene even in personnel management of the military and obstruct the formation of factions that may be brought about through special personnel connections or relationships. These organizations have infiltrated even into the lowest units and are thoroughly conducting brain-washing indoctrination of and secret supervision on every soldier.

Asserting that "the party must control the muzzle of the gun," North Korea thoroughly subordinated the military to the party and placed it under twofold and threefold control and supervision of the party. At present, in the military of North Korea, an alternation of generations is going on through the retirement of the revolutionary generations and the emergence of new generations.

For example, in the units from the army group to the company level, political commanders are assigned to the post of one of the deputy commanders. The political commander takes command of the political executive organization of the unit to which he is assigned. The political executive organization does not get instructions from the military command system but gets direct instructions from the political executive organization system. His duties include the implementation of resolutions made by the party organizations and the party committees within the armed forces, the propagation of Marxism-Leninism, psychological warfare, political ideological indoctrination, analyses of ideological climate, and propaganda and agitation.

Furthermore, political secretaries, who have been selected from among those personnel recommended by the Secretariat of the Central Headquarters of the party, are assigned to units of division and brigade level; and they supervise activities within the armed forces, including military and political affairs. In particular, even the orders of the commanding officer cannot take effect without the secretary's endorsement and signature. They exercise authority over the materialization of party policies, the establishment of the system of unitary ideology, the prevention of spreading militarism, coordination and supervision of the political and party works, and the endorsement of orders and plans.

And, in addition, the SWYL plays the role of an auxiliary organization to unite non-party members in the armed forces under the party leadership. It launches activities under the control of the political executive organization of the unit to which it is attached. And the party committee of the Army conducts guidance on the political work within the armed forces. The armed forces' party organizations are organized in all army entities including the Ministry of People's Armed Forces and the lowest units. Their duties are making decisions on military action plans, mapping and reviewing plans of operations and training, supervising military activities, and personnel management conducted in line with the party policies.

In this way, the armed forces of North Korea are being multiply controlled and supervised by special organizations of the party. In effect they are under the control of the party in launching all activities ranging from the training plans through personnel management. We can call them servants or a tool of the Workers Party.

#### Kim Chong-il's Emergence and Change of Generations

When we say it is a fact that North Korea's military is being multiply supervised in the way described above, and that its activities, ranging from training plans through personnel management, must be controlled by the personnel dispatched from the party, such a thing as a coup d'etat is inconceivable. Not only in North Korea but also in other communist countries, no military coup d'etat has ever been launched: this can be attributed to the "turning of the armed forces into puppets." In North Korea, soldiers are nothing but the rifle-firing machines. However, it is also a fact that North Korea is posting military career persons in key positions because it holds the armed forces in high esteem as the "father of revolution." Till the early 1970's, most of the key officials in North Korea were either those who served in the anti-Japanese guerrilla unit or those military personnel who took part in the 25 June war. They were Kim Il-song himself, Kim Il, Nam Il, Ch'oe Yong-kon, Kim Ch'aek, So Ch'ol, Mujong, O Paek-ryong, Pak Song-ch'ol, and O Chin-u.

However, these revolutionary elders began retiring from the middle of the 1970's when Kim Chong-il emerged and newly emerging technocrats started to push them out. In 1976, Ch'oe Yong-kon, who had been an elder in the armed forces, died of illness; and Nam Il, who was vice president, also died. Yi Yong-mu, who was the director of the General Political Bureau of the Army, was ousted and Colonel General (Lieutenant General) Han Ik-su, also died. Then came the relieving of Chang Chong-hang, who was vice minister of the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces, Kim Man-ch'ol, who was deputy chief of staff, and officials above the level of division commanders.

Entering the 1980's, when Ch'oe Hyon, Kim Il, and O Paek-ryong died of illness, the emergence of younger people became conspicuous. Kim Chong-il promoted O Kuk-ryol, who, like himself, was a graduate of the Man'gyongdae Revolutionary Institute, to chief of general staff. He appointed Paek Hak-rim, who was about his age, to the post of vice minister of the People's Armed Forces, and Kim Kang-hwan to the post of deputy chief of the general staff. That was the emergence of a newly rising generation which reflected the fact

that an change of generations was gradually being launched in the military of North Korea.

Modern warfare is scientific. No matter how backward the scientization of the North Korean communist forces may be, it would be difficult for the revolutionary generations who had never received a regular education to command effectively the army in modern warfare. Therefore, the changing times must have brought about a change of generations in North Korea's military, too. Apart from the demands of the times, along with the hereditary succession of Kim Chong-il at the age of 40, it is becoming necessary for the younger generation who is compatible with that situation to emerge. Thus the change of generations within North Korea's military must be accelerated.

#### Psychological Conflict Among Newly Emerging Forces and Its Limit

According to some reports carried at home and abroad, forces of discontent are gradually increasing within the military of North Korea, too. Foreign dispatches have reported that some generals of the revolutionary generation have opposed Kim Chong-il's hereditary succession, and the anti-Kim Chong-il faction and the pro-Kim Chong-il faction had a gun fight with each other. In November of last year, some erroneous reports were carried to the effect that a group of soldiers had assassinated Kim Il-song.

However, when we remember the fact that the armed forces of North Korea are thoroughly subordinated to the party and multiply controlled and supervised by the party, we are convinced that no military coup d'etat can be staged under a system like that of North Korea. From now on, too, the military of North Korea, like that of any other communist country, will be enslaved to the party, continuously under the control of the party. And yet, as commanding officers in the military are replaced with the young and, accordingly, a rational way of thinking begins to prevail within the military, it is conceivable that discontent and complaints about the hereditary succession of Kim Chong-il will surely surge like a floodtide. Thus it is also conceivable that the military, overwhelmed by a feeling of psychological conflict, may stage something like a coup d'etat at the time of emergency.

However, the communist forces in North Korea have had no other alternative but to be thoroughly subordinated to the party since the founding of the forces; and this has become more or less a system. In such a situation where the subordination to the party has become a system or convention, it would be difficult for the military of North Korea to break out of that shell and control the party. Still more so in the case of North Korea's military, which has to be kept under the restraint of the militaries of the PRC and the Soviet Union: it would be much more difficult for North Korea's military to intervene in politics.

However, when Kim Il-song dies and the society in North Korea is thrown into disorder due to the smoldering power strife, it would be possible for the military to intervene. Nevertheless, such smoldering strife or state of confusion is not foreseeable. As shown in the political novel "1984" by George Orwell, there is no room for discontent, complaint, or resistance in a society that is strictly controlled. There is only room for obedience. It

seems that, under such circumstances, North Korea's Communist Party, oppressing the people like a "big brother," will persistently maintain the single party dictatorship of the Workers Party. And, as long as such a furious single party system persists, North Korea will languish in a state of depression.

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## N. KOREA/ECONOMY

### THIRD 7-YEAR ECONOMIC PLAN ANALYZED

Seoul NAEWOE TONGSIN in Korean No 520, 16 Jan 87 pp 1J-9J

[Article: "Directions of the Third 7-year Plan and Its Immediate Tasks"]

[Text] Seoul--NAEWOE--Continuously espousing the "chuche economy" based on the self-reliance line, North Korea announced that it would carry out the "Third 7-year Economic Plan" beginning in 1987.

In his policy message for this year, replacing the annual New Year's message, delivered at the first session of the Eighth Supreme People's Assembly held on 30 December last year, Kim Il-song stressed in his economic policy: "In order to win a complete victory of socialism, the goal that we must achieve in the field of economic construction is only to build a chuche economy in which all sectors of the people's economy are highly modernized and the sectoral structures are complete."

In connection with the "Third 7-year Plan" which will be undertaken this year, Kim Il-song pointed out that this plan is completely compatible with the strategy of economic construction proposed at the Sixth Party Congress of 1980, thus suggesting that the goal of economic construction as in current Third 7-year Plan lies in fulfilling the already proposed long-term goals toward the end of the 1980's.

Kim Il-song disclosed that the basic tasks of the Third 7-year Plan are the "chucheization, modernization, and scientific rationalization of the people's economy" and that the growth indexes of the plan have been set as a 1.9-fold growth in industrial output and 1.4-fold growth in agricultural production during the plan period.

North Korea has stressed that especially during the plan period the development of the science and technology sectors will be fostered as the highest-priority construction sectors.

Kim Il-song declared that to foster the development of the science and technology sectors, all energies will be devoted to the development of the machine, miniature electronics, and robotics industries in an attempt to mechanize the production processes and to automate, robotize, and computerize.



Kim Il-song also revealed that during the Third 7-year Plan period efforts will be put not only into the directions of the basic policies in the industrial sectors but also into light industry construction and agricultural construction for the solution of the so-called "food-shelter-clothing" problems.

In connection with this, Kim Il-song emphasized that during the plan period the "general living standards of the people must be raised one stage higher," and he said that as part of this, effort will be put into construction such as the development of the 300,000 chongbo of reclaimed land, the construction of the Sunch'on Vinalon Complex, and the construction of the Sariwon Potash Fertilizer Complex.

In regard to the undertaking of the Third 7-year Plan the party plenary session held on 27 December last year disclosed that efforts will be put into "fuel, motive power, and iron and steel materials production" as the priority tasks of economic construction in 1987, and that the construction of the extractive industry sectors, which guarantee the increased production of fuel and mechanical power, will be especially emphasized. With positive measures for the production of cereal grains and fish for the improvement of sectors related to the livelihood of the inhabitants, the plenary session firmly established the goals of economic construction during the first year of the Third 7-year Plan.

The directions of the major economic construction policies by sector during 1987 that the plenary session has firmly established call for putting priority efforts into the construction of the extractive industry sectors for the solution of the raw materials, fuel, and motive power problems, and the plenary session urged that the "entire party concentrate its firepower on the coal front," and urged that the coalmining facilities at the Komdok Mining Complex and Musan Mining Complex be expanded for the increased production of non-ferrous metals and iron and steel materials. And in the electric power production sector it called for the full operation of all power-generating stations and the construction of new power stations, and for guaranteeing electric power with the construction of new power-generating stations. It called for major efforts in the metal industry sectors to normalize production at steel and iron plants for the increased production of iron and steel materials, and in the machine industry sector for the production of automobiles, tractors, and extracting facilities. In addition to the development of priority construction in these four industrial sectors, it has been disclosed that they will concentrate their efforts also on increased production in the chemical, building materials, and forestry sectors.

In the transportation sector, the most important key between industrial sectors, it has been urged that snags to the normalization of raw materials supply between sectors be eliminated through the fulfillment of the so-called three major transportation systems--the concentrated, containerized, and intermodal transportation systems.

Then, in the external trade sector, without reference to any particular policy, it merely emphasized giving support and aid to improved production of export commodities and the development of export commodities in all sectors and units.

The general policies of the Third 7-year Plan and the economic management policy for the first year, 1987, that Kim Il-song's recent policy speech revealed are expected to show more specific policy directions, goals, and contents at the second session of the Eighth Supreme People's Assembly to be held in the first half of this year. However, only after a buffer period of 2 years after the completion of the Second 7-year Plan (1978-84) in 1984, the fulfillment of the next period's economic plan was tentatively announced, and in its substance no epoch-making policy shifts nor alternative proposals were advocated, and the plan's goals were set alongside the extension of the fulfillment of their 10 former major long-term goals. In view of this, the difficulty in the North Korean economy has been succinctly disclosed.

Such a fact can also be clearly indicated in the fact that due to the failure of the Second 7-year Plan that ended in 1984, snags have developed also in the fulfillment of the 10 major long-term goals, and its fulfillment has been postponed by as long as 4 years beyond the originally set target date, 1989.

In view of the fact that long-term economic policy management is inseparably related to external economic cooperation, it may be said that North Korea's disclosure that it has no alternative but to carry out economic construction on its own, that is, on a principle of self-reliance, with the exception of cooperation with certain communist nations, is caused by such restrictive factors as external economic credibility, foreign debts, and marketability.

Viewed in this way, what is called the long-term economic policy of North Korea reveals nothing but a risky plan established without regard to economic reality. Moreover, viewed from the fact that without revising it, it simply repeats the extension of the time period, it can be interpreted that rather than fulfillment of the original plan goals, a greater significance is attached to fulfillment itself.

On the other hand, the 10 major long-term goals for fulfillment during the Third 7-year Plan (1987-93) that North Korea has set are 100 billion kwh of electric power, 120 million tons of coal, 15 million tons of steel, 1.5 million tons of non-ferrous metals, 7 million tons of chemical fertilizer, 20 million tons of cement, 15 million tons of cereal grains, 5 million tons of fish products, 1.5 billion meters of textiles, and 300,000 chongbo of reclaimed land. These were adopted at the Sixth Party Congress in October 1980.

Although North Korea set during the Second 7-year Plan period (1978-84) the goals of 56-60 billion kwh of electric power, 70-80 million tons of coal, 7.4-8 million tons of steel, 1 million tons of non-ferrous metals, 5 million tons of chemical fertilizer, 12-13 million tons of cement, 10 million tons

of cereal grains, 3.5 million tons of fish products, 800 million meters of textiles, and 100,000 chongbo of reclaimed land, and has clung to their fulfillment, the results are evaluated to be generally only 55 percent successful.

In connection with the end of the Second 7-year Plan, North Korea claims the successful conclusion of this economic plan through its Central Statistical Bureau announcements on 17 February 1985. However, as a matter of fact it is the analysis of specialists that the announcements of such figures are nothing but external propaganda to cover up its failures in economic planning. (See tables.)

Comparison of the 10 Major Long-term Goals and the Actual Accomplishments of the Second 7-year Plan

Classi- fication	Unit	10 Major Long- term Goals	Goals in Second 7-year Plan	Actual Accomplishment of Second 7-year Plan (percent) Announcement Evaluation of North Ko- rean Statis- tical Bureau (17 Feb 85)	
Electric	100 million kwh	1,000	560-600	178	41.7
Coal	10,000 tons	12,000	7,000-8,000	150	44.8
Steel	10,000 tons	1,500	740-800	185	56.0
Non-ferrous metals	10,000 tons	150	100	-	-
Chemical fertilizers	10,000 tons	700	500	180	64.0
Cement	10,000 tons	2,000	1,200-1,300	178	69.5
Cereal grains	10,000	1,500	1,000	100	64.0
Fishery products	10,000	500	350	2.2 times	60.0
Textile	100 million meters	15	8	145	75.0
Reclaimed land	10,000 chongbo	30	10	-	-

# Major Economic Construction Plans by Sector

Sector	Construction Plan	Remarks
Electric power	- T'aech'on Hydroelectric Power Station construction (Begun in 1981, 66-kw scale)	
	- T'aep'yong Bay Hydroelectric Power Station (190,000 kw, as of now generators Nos 1, 2, and 3 are completed)	Communist China-aided
	- Wiwon Hydroelectric Power Station (390,000 kw)	Communist China-aided
	- Expansion of capacity of Ch'ongjin Thermoelectric Power Station (from 150,000 kw to 400,000 kw)	Communist China-aided
	- Anju Thermoelectric Power Station (scale unknown)	Communist China-aided
	- Nuclear power plant (1.76 million kw)	Communist China-aided
	- East Pyongyang Thermoelectric Power Station (600,000 kw)	Communist China-aided
	- Mt. Kumgan Hydroelectric Power Station (begun in Oct 86)	
Non-ferrous metals	- Expansion at Komdok Mine	
	- Expansion at Tanch'on Magnesica Plant (two-fold)	
Coal	- Kumya Coal Mine (expansion from 1.5 million tons to 2.5 million tons)	Soviet aided
	- Anju District Coal Mine (expansion of capacity by 15 million tons)	Soviet aided
Steel	- Kimch'aek Iron Works, second-stage expansion (steel-making capacity, from 1.5 million tons to 2.5 million tons)	Soviet aided
	- Hwanghae Iron Works (expansion of iron-making and steel-making capacities)	
	- Musan Mine (construction of a 10 million ton capacity dressing plant)	Soviet aided

[table continues from previous page]

Fiber	- Sunch'on Vinalon (begun in October 1983; annual production capacity is 100,000 tons	Soviet aided
	- Construction of Pyongyang Textile Factory	Soviet aided
	- Expansion of Ch'ongjin Chemical Fiber Factory	Soviet aided
	- Expansion of Sinuiju Chemical Fiber Factory	Soviet aided
Electricity	- Expansion of Pyongyang Enamel Wire Factory (11 million-ton scale)	Soviet aided

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